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CONFERENCES

OF

GERTRUDENBERG,

1710.

THE

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MEMOIRS

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MARQUIS of TORCY,

SECRETARY OF STATE

TO

LEWIS XIV.

CONTAINING

The HISTORY of the NEGOTIATIONS

FROM THE

Treaty of RYSWIC to the Peace of UTRECHT.

TRANSLATED from the FRENCH.

VOL. II.

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MEMOIRS

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY of the NEGOTIATIONS

FROM THE

Treaty of Ryſwic to the peace of Utrecht.

Conferences of Gertrudenberg, 1710.

THE enemies of France had at length diſcloſed the ſecret of their exorbitant pretenſions. Their deſigns were plain, ſince the miniſters of the Emperor, of England, and of the United-Provinces had ſigned the writing drawn up by the penſionary of Holland, containing the preliminary articles which were to be the baſis or neceſſary foundation of the peace.

IT could no longer be ſaid with the leaſt appearance of truth, that the termination of the

war depended intirely on the king's pleaſure, and that the peace ſo greatly deſired by all France would ſoon be ſigned, if his majeſty would but agree to part with a few ſtrong towns, which he was fond of keeping, merely becauſe they were the fruit of his own conqueſts.

THE conferences of the Hague in 1709 had clearly ſhewn, that the king would have ſpared no expence to purchaſe peace for his people; and that his enemies on the other hand availed themſelves of his condeſcenſion, to enter into a ſtronger engagement for continuing the war.

THE preliminary articles were become a new bond of union in regard to them, and in ſome meaſure a new law which they impoſed on themſelves, in order to ſtrengthen the difficulties, with which they clogged the reſtoration of the tranquillity of Europe.

THE more his majeſty was deſirous of contributing to the eaſe of his people, the more zealous they ſhewed themſelves in his ſervice, and the more eager to maintain his and the nation's glory: but the fidelity of his ſubjects increaſed his deſire of putting an end to their hardſhips; and in order to attain that end, coſt what it would, he accepted of every condition contained in the preliminaries, ſave only ſuch as it was not in his power to execute.

BUT it was on theſe impracticable conditions, that the enemies of France and of peace moſt obſtinately inſiſted. Elated with their ſucceſs, and per-

perſuaded of the invincibility of their troops, they pretended that if theſe conditions, the execution of which no ways depended on the king, were not fully executed in the ſpace of two months, the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe. They then propoſed to purſue their military operations to a greater advantage, as they ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the ſtrong towns, which, purſuant to the preliminaries, his majeſty was to deliver into their hands, as pledges of his royal word.

THE two articles, the intire execution of which they demanded within the term of two months, were the 4th and 37th of the preliminaries.

THE 4th article contained "that for ſecuring "the execution of the treaties of peace to be "made, within the ſpace of two months, his "moſt chriſtian majeſty will cauſe the kingdom "of Sicily, at that time in poſſeſſion of the king "his grandſon, to be delivered up to the arch-"duke, who by the ſame article is ſtiled his ca-"tholic majeſty; and king Philip, who is ſtiled "only duke of Anjou, ſhall retire within the ſaid "ſpace of time, he and his family, from the ſe-"veral dominions dependent on the Spaniſh mo-"narchy."

THE 37th article made the peace depend on the 4th; it was only in caſe the 4th article had its intire effect, and the Spaniſh monarchy was yielded to the archduke, that the ceſſation of arms

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was to be continued till the concluſion and ratification of the treaties of peace.

At that time it was equally impoſſible for the king to diſpoſe of Sicily and Spain. His majeſty had not a ſingle man in Sicily; and he had withdrawn all his troops from Spain, firmly perſuaded that by ceaſing to aſſiſt the king his grandſon, he ſhould teſtify his ſincere deſire of promoting peace. With the ſame view of giving undiſputable proofs of his ſincerity, he offered to engage not to grant any further ſuccours to the king of Spain, promiſing to give orders, which ſhould be punctually executed, that this prince ſhould receive no aſſiſtance, either directly or indirectly, from the kingdom of France.

Every other engagement would have been to no purpoſe, becauſe it would have been impoſſible to have performed it.

At that time the king of Spain maintained the war with his own forces. And his faithful ſubjects gave ſuch marks of their attachment to his perſon, as were equall'd only by the proofs of diſlike which they had ſhewn to the archduke.

The project of renouncing his crown, of quitting the kingdom, and of fixing the term of two months for that purpoſe, was abſurd; beſides it was impoſſible to compel him to a reſolution ſo contrary to his honour; but the very beſt reaſons will not perſuade thoſe, whom intereſt draws another way.

THE direction of the allied councils, and the command of their armies, were powerful motives for rendering either their miniſters or their generals, who found their private account in continuing the war, for rendering them, I ſay, averſe from all overtures of peace.

THEY inſiſted on the king of Spain's renouncing his crown; which they knew for certain he would never do.

THIS prince had ſeveral times declared, that he would ſooner loſe his life, than quit the throne on which God had placed him; and as the enemies of peace were informed of his catholic majeſty's reſolution and ſteadineſs, they perſiſted more obſtinately in making that a neceſſary condition of peace, which they were ſure would never be granted.

WITH the ſame intention they had haughtily rejected every propoſal of making a kind of equivalent, worthy of the king of Spain's acceptance, and capable of engaging him to make ſo great a ſacrifice, to the repoſe of a multitude of nations oppreſſed with the weight of a long and bloody war.

THE advantages obtained by the allies in the campaign of 1709 * increaſed the hardſhips of their people; and though this campaign raiſed the glory of the French nation, by the proofs they gave of their bravery, and of their patience

* See the laſt note vol. I. p. 122.

in a year of famine, yet the neceſſity of concluding a peace was become more urgent.

THE allies took Menin and Tournay; at the action of Malplaquet they had the honour of remaining maſters of the field of battle, an honour for which they paid very dear.

THE Dutch loſt their beſt infantry in that engagement; and the taking of Mons was not a matter of ſuch advantage to them, as to balance the loſs they ſuſtained that fatal day.

THE miſchiefs which the war occaſioned on both ſides, muſt have been cogent motives for promoting the concluſion of a peace.

THE king was as deſirous as ever to contribute with his whole might to this great end; and notwithſtanding the operations of the armies, ſtill a kind of correſpondence was kept up, in purſuance of his majeſty's orders, with Holland, either to receive intelligence, or to ſeize any lucky moment that might offer for renewing the negotiations with greater ſucceſs.

BY theſe indirect ways, which were not exempt from ſuſpicion, the penſionary of Holland was informed, that his majeſty would agree to depoſit into the hands of the States-General, three fortified towns of his own chuſing, of which they might keep poſſeſſion till the Spaniſh monarchy was intirely ſurrendered. This new offer was of no uſe: the penſionary made anſwer, that indeed this depoſit was neceſſary, but not ſufficient for ſecuring the intire effect of the treaty of

peace;

peace; that the king of Spain would not think himſelf obliged to renounce his crown, for the ſake of redeeming, and putting his grandfather again into poſſeſſion of three fortified towns, that had been depoſited as a pledge of the ſincerity of France; in ſhort, that if the king forfeited thoſe towns, for want of executing his engagements, he would ſtill be a conſiderable gainer, by maintaining at ſo ſmall an expence, the king his grandſon on the throne of Spain.

PETTEKUM appeared again upon the ſtage; he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of a very conſiderable gratification, when he buſied himſelf of his own head with the negotiations of a general peace. He had never loſt ſight of that great point, and of the fruit of all his toil. He continued to correſpond with France, when all negotiation ſeemed to be broke off; at which time he paſſed in Holland for a perſon perfectly acquainted with the king's intentions.

YET the penſionary was his oracle. Directed by this miniſter, and having taken his orders from him, and from prince Eugene and Marlborough, he repaired to Verſailles, with a commiſſion merely to liſten to the propoſals that ſhould be made to him, to eſtabliſh new conferences, and to treat concerning the 4th and 37th articles of the preliminaries; the only ones that were ſuppoſed to hinder the concluding of the peace.

AND indeed the king ſo ſincerely deſired it, that notwithſtanding the rigour of the preliminaries

naries drawn up at the Hague, he had declared he would accept of them, were it poſſible to hit upon ſome expedient for moderating theſe two articles.

It was then the beginning of winter, a ſeaſon which ſuſpending all military operations left a free channel for renewing the negotiations. By the conſent which the king had given to the preliminaries, ſave only thoſe two articles, many difficulties were removed; ſo that there was room to hope that, inſtead of preliminaries and ſuſpenſion of arms, a definitive peace might be ſigned before the ſpring, if both ſides were but equally ſincere.

But the enemies of France gave a wrong turn to the king's compliance in granting their exorbitant demands; they pretended that his majeſty would not be ſo ready in his conceſſions, had he not known that while he conſented to ſo many articles, he charged himſelf with no real engagement, becauſe the principal cauſe of the war ſtill ſubſiſted; that this cauſe could not ceaſe, till the king of Spain renounced his crown effectually, and quitted the dominions dependent on that monarchy: that it evidently appeared to have been always the king's ſecret view, in which he ſtill continued, to maintain him upon the throne, in ſpite of the united efforts of ſo many nations; that their joint intereſt called upon them to be vigilant and to act with unanimity, leſt theſe ſecret views ſhould ſuc-

ceed; as would be the caſe perhaps, if they ſuffered themſelves to be lulled aſleep by idle negotiations, ſpun out with no other end by the French, than to ſeize on ſome favourable juncture for dividing the allies, which their miniſters expected from the preſent diſturbances in the north of Europe.

THESE ſpeeches which were propagated with an intent to foment the ſpirit of war, in oppoſition to peace, did not hinder the penſionary, who perhaps encouraged them, from commiſſioning Pettekum to declare, that if the king would really conſent to ſign the preliminaries, they would immediately open new conferences, in order to diſcuſs chiefly the 37th article, the explication of which would likewiſe give that of the 4th, by reaſon of their connexion; and in that caſe he would ſend paſſports from the ſtates, for the plenipotentiaries whom the king ſhould pleaſe to nominate, and that the conferences ſhould be ſecretly held at Moerdyke.

THE precaution of ſecreſy was not only uſeleſs, but difficult to obſerve. It was not with the Dutch alone that the king wanted to treat, but with all his enemies. There was no ſeparate peace, no ſecret articles to ſettle: the articles were known, were public, ſince the preliminaries ſigned by the principal miniſters of the allies, and delivered as a baſis of the peace, were in the hands of all the world. And even if they had

had been willing to make a myſtery of the conferences, ſo great a thoroughfare as Moerdyke was not a proper place to conceal them, or to elude the vigilance of ſuch a number of foreign miniſters reſiding at the Hague, attentive to every ſtep that might tend to renew the negotiations. As the penſionary was ſtill believed to be well-diſpoſed towards a peace, and to wiſh to ſee it concluded, the king declared he ſhould be glad the conferences were opened at the Hague, or in ſome city of the province of Holland, preferably to any other place: willing to believe that the penſionary's preſence would abridge the delays of the conferences, and contribute to the quick ſolution of a great many difficulties.

His majeſty accepted of the offer of the paſſports, and appointed marſhal d' Huxelles and the abbé de Polignac, to conduct the negotiations, as his plenipotentiaries. The place for the conferences was fixed at Gertrudenberg; the principal and even the only point of the negotiation, was the ſettling of the means of executing the 37th and conſequently the 4th article, all the other conditions of the preliminaries having been granted. There was room to foreſee that a verbal conſent of the plenipotentiaries to the preliminaries, except only the 4th and 37th articles, would not ſatisfy ſuch ſuſpicious negotiators, who were more expert at forming

forming than ſolving of difficulties, and perſuaded that what ſecurity ſoever ſhould be offered them, it would ſtill be inſufficient.

THERE was therefore but too great a probability of the Dutch deputies inſiſting that the plenipotentiaries, previous to every thing elſe, ſhould ſign the articles agreed to by the king.

EVER ſince the firſt overtures of peace, conſtant experience had ſhewn the diligence and attention of the enemy in taking every advantage of the king's ſincerity, and in abuſing his majeſty's real deſire to reſtore the public tranquillity.

IT was therefore his opinion, that if he permitted his miniſters to ſign the preliminaries, before they agreed to the explication of the above two articles, the deputies would certainly pretend, that the articles which had been ſigned ſhould be executed, conſequently the cautionary towns ſhould be delivered up into the hands of the Dutch, and then that they and their allies would make uſe of pretexts which perhaps were at hand, for renewing the war.

YET ſo ſtrong a reaſon for refuſing to ſign at all, before the 37th article was agreed to, gave way to the fatal neceſſity of concluding a peace, a neceſſity ſuperior to every other conſideration. The king therefore at the ſame time that he permitted his miniſters to ſign the preliminaries, if they were forced to it, except the two articles, gave orders only that they ſhould engage the Dutch,

Dutch deputies to agree to a ſecret article which they alſo ſhould ſign, the purport of which was, that if their allies, under the pretence of explication, ſhould pretend to give a greater extent to the preliminaries after they were ſigned, theſe explications ſhould never be a ſufficient cauſe for having recourſe once more to arms.

Such was the melancholy ſituation of France, that her preſervation ſeemed to depend on the acceptance of the moſt rigorous conditions, if even on theſe conditions ſhe could flatter herſelf with the hopes of a peace.

The only obſtacle as we have ſeen, to its concluſion, was the ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy.

The difficulties were all reduced to that of finding ſome expedient for ſettling this point. The firſt was what the king propoſed; to form a partition ſufficient to induce his catholic majeſty to give up the crown of Spain. It was imagined, notwithſtanding the declarations of this prince, that perhaps he could be perſuaded it would be more advantageous to him, to be ſatisfied with the peaceable poſſeſſion of a leſs conſiderable crown than that of Spain, rather than run the riſk of loſing the whole monarchy.

If he rejected this propoſal, the king engaged to refuſe ſending him any ſuccours whatſoever. His majeſty promiſed moreover to inflict the ſevereſt penalties on any of his ſubjects, whether officers or ſoldiers, that ſhould go into the Spaniſh

niſh ſervice; and if any of them were received into his catholic majeſty's armies, he engaged to conſider this admiſſion as a ſubject of rupture.

FOR the ſecurity of performing his promiſe, he offered to deliver up four of his ſtrong towns in the Netherlands into the hands of the Dutch, to remain as a depoſit till the concluſion of the Spaniſh war.

THESE towns were to be Bergues, Doway, Charlemont, and Aire. But the enemy's pretenſion at that time was, that his majeſty ſhould promiſe to join his forces to theirs, in order to oblige the king of Spain to renounce his crown, a propoſal which they never believed his majeſty would liſten to.

BESIDES the depoſit of thoſe four towns, the king, by accepting of the preliminaries, engaged alſo to deliver up to the Dutch, at the ſigning of the definitive treaty, thoſe towns which were to form their pretended barrier; moreover he was to diſmantle Dunkirk, and the ſtrong towns of Alſace.

IF his majeſty, purſuant to the inſinuations of his enemies, had wanted to deceive them by a ſham negotiation, with a view of making a profit of their credulity, in order to keep the king his grandſon on the throne of Spain, he would have been greatly miſtaken, and committed an imprudent ſtep, in adding new ſtrength to a ſubtle enemy; whom even exceſs of confidence was incapable to blind.

IN

In ſhort, the plenipotentiaries were impowered to propoſe the kingdom of Navarre, as an indemnification to the king of Spain for the remainder of the monarchy; but they were to keep this propoſition in reſerve, and not to come out with it till the very laſt, and only when every expedient for ſettling the two articles in diſpute had been abſolutely rejected.

The weight of war, always burdenſome to the public, inſpired the Dutch with the deſire of peace; and on this foundation Pettekum boldly affirmed, that the miniſters whom his majeſty ſhould ſend to negotiate, would find the deputies of the States General better diſpoſed than they had hitherto appeared, to leave a proper partition to his catholic majeſty.

There were ſome hopes of a change in England, the conſequences of which might be favourable to peace.

Some of the princes of the empire were diſſatisfied with the allies.

The war continued in the north, and in its conſequences might give a new turn to the affairs of Europe. In time of danger every appearance of delivery is flattering; and the more we are deſirous of that delivery, the more we are apt to believe the appearance well-founded.

Thus ſeveral pleaſed themſelves with the notion that the new negotiation, tho' built on ſuch rigid terms, would nevertheleſs be productive of a peace.

THE king in his inſtructions to his plenipotentiaries, recommended patience to them, as a virtue which they ſhould often have occaſion to exerciſe; but peace was neceſſary above all things, and nothing ſo evidently proved it, as the inſtructions and powers which thoſe miniſters received of his majeſty.

HE did not forget the intereſts of the two electors; his orders in their favour were poſitive, eſpecially as the preſent negotiations were not to be confined to preliminary articles, but to comprehend a definitive treaty of peace.

MARSHALL d'Huxelles and the abbé Polignac, apprized of the king's intentions, arrived at Moerdyke the 9th of May 1710. A ſtate meſſenger waited for their arrival, with orders to acquaint them, that Buys and Vanderduſſen, deputies to the conferences, were in that neighbourhood aboard a yacht; that they would wait upon the plenipotentiaries at their apartments, unleſs they choſe to confer in the yacht, which was left to their option.

MARSHAL d'Huxelles and the abbé Polignac choſe the latter. They were juſt going to take water, in order to proceed to the yacht, when Buys and Vanderduſſen came on ſhore to receive them. They ſet off again with the plenipotentiaries, and got on board the yacht. There were two other veſſels of the ſame kind juſt near, one for the plenipotentiaries, and the other for their domeſtics. The deputies left

them at their liberty, either to lye on board, or to take lodgings in Gertrudenberg. It was preferred to lye aſhore; for beſides the conveniency of lodgings, the king's miniſters ſuſpected, that the lying on board was propoſed to them, only with a view to debar them of all correſpondence.

The firſt night the abbé Polignac ſlept on board the yacht; and marſhal d'Huxelles, under pretence of ſome inconveniency, went to lye at Moerdyke.

Their firſt conference with the deputies laſted three hours. Here they experienced the great neceſſity of that virtue which the king had ſo ſtrongly recommended to them. Inſtead of an expedient for moderating the rigour of the 37th article, Buys taking the lead, began with eſtabliſhing the rights of the houſe of Auſtria to the whole Spaniſh monarchy. He maintained a conſiderable time that it belonged entirely to the archduke.

The king of courſe, according to this juriſprudence, could neither in juſtice nor conſcience withhold thoſe dominions, or give them to his grandſon. It is a maxim of law that whoſoever is the author of an injury, ſhould be bound to repair it. The allies were therefore juſtified in inſiſting, that king Philip, the unjuſt poſſeſſor of the throne of Spain, ſhould be obliged to concur with them in reſtoring it to the archduke. Nothing more juſt, added Buys, nothing more natural,

tural, than to continue the war, againſt France, till by a joint effort with the allies, ſhe has compelled king Philip, whom he called only the duke of Anjou, to deſcend from an uſurped throne; nothing at the ſame time more contrary to all equity, than to pretend in favour of that prince, the leaſt indemnification for a monarchy, to no part whereof he had any manner of right.

In vain did the plenipotentiaries reply to this torrent of words. In vain did they cite the example of the late king of England, whoſe memory was ſo greatly revered in Holland; and of the States General, whoſe miniſters were preſent. That prince and the republic of Holland had acknowledged the right and poſſeſſion of the king of Spain. They were even very near coming to an accommodation before the war; but without retroſpect to paſt times, the preſent diſpute did not relate to an undeniable right according to law. The buſineſs was to remove a difficulty in the 37th article of the preliminaries, which hindered the peace, and to fix upon ſome meaſures for rendering it poſſible to execute.

Buys replied briſkly, that the 37th article was now out of the queſtion, ſince the king agreed to the 4th as well as to the other preliminaries. In ſupport of this fallacious argument he ſaid, that the 37th article was in the mean included in the 4th, from whence he drew this conſequence, that the king having accepted the 4th, had accepted alſo of the 37th; but the

premiſes being falſe, the concluſion could not be true.

Buys maintained notwithſtanding that purely on this condition his maſters had conſented to the new conferences, and granted paſſports to the plenipotentiaries; that there was nothing further to regulate, except the form and time of executing the conditions which both parties were ſuppoſed to have agreed to.

In regard to the form, the king, ſaid he, cannot ſatisfy his engagements, but by joining his forces to thoſe of the allies, in order to oblige his grandſon to quit the dominions of Spain; at the very firſt menace he will certainly think proper to obey.

In regard to the time, it will be an eaſy matter to ſettle that, when once the form is agreed to, and both parties act in concert.

Vanderdussen by his ſilence approved of his collegue's reaſoning. It has been ſaid that one of the plenipotentiaries, convinced of the ſincerity of the Dutch, and prejudiced in favour of Buys, whoſe candour and openneſs he highly eſteemed, was very near acknowledging that this deputy argued well, and that he eſtabliſhed beyond all diſpute the archduke's right to the whole Spaniſh monarchy.

Be that as it may, the plenipotentiaries had not the gift of perſuaſion. The offer of the four cautionary towns in the French Netherlands made not the leaſt impreſſion. They endeavoured to lay

lay a great ſtreſs on the king's having already recalled his troops from Spain; what they ſaid on that ſubject had no ſort of effect; nor did the deputies pay any more attention to the general prohibition which the king had lately iſſued to his ſubjects, not to enter into the Spaniſh ſervice.

To the offer of the four cautionary towns the deputies made anſwer, that they were demanded, not at the king's option, but as the allies ſhould pleaſe to chooſe; that ſuch a depoſit would indeed be a pledge of his majeſty's word, but would not ſecure the real ceſſion of the crown of Spain, the only object of ſo many treaties, of ſuch immenſe expences and efforts on the part of the allies; that the total withdrawing of the French troops would not terminate the war in Spain; that his catholic majeſty would defend himſelf ſtill a long time with his own forces, and that if he could not have Frenchmen, he would take Iriſh, Swiſs, and Germans into his ſervice; in ſhort, that he would fight hard for his crown, ſo that this new war would exhauſt the allies, while France enjoyed the ſweets of peace. It was the conſtant policy of the allied miniſters, to ſuppoſe his majeſty to have a double meaning, whenever he offered a great deal more than his enemies had reaſon to expect. They induſtriouſly fomented the jealouſy of the people, whom they endeavoured to perſuade, that France had no other aim than to deceive them.

It was with this deſign, ſaid they, that the king has recalled his troops from Spain. By this ſtep he intended to anſwer the allies, that not a ſingle town in the kingdom of Spain was in his power. Thus he expected to elude the demand that had been already made of the three cautionary towns in Spain, as they now demanded three more in Flanders.

Buys complained of this ſtep to the plenipotentiaries, as of a freſh obſtacle to the concluding of the peace. His reaſon was, that the king, by recalling his troops from Spain, would ſtrengthen his armies in Flanders, in Germany, and in Dauphiné.

He added, that the king of Spain, deſtitute of ſuccours, and obliged to depend on his own forces, would redouble his efforts, and perhaps would find unexpected reſources even in his neceſſity.

The penſionary's view, ſaid the deputies, in demanding three cautionary towns in Spain, at the option of the allies, was to ſave the king the mortifying circumſtance of making war againſt his grandſon; for by granting thoſe towns, the conqueſt of Spain would become more eaſy, and the war could not laſt long. Nothing more remained but that the deputies ſhould inſiſt on the recompences, which the penſionary by his good offices had deſerved of his majeſty.

They hinted, without entering into any engagement, that as ſoon as the three cautionary towns

towns in Spain were delivered up, together with the other three in the Netherlands, at the option of the allies, their maſters would endeavour to obtain the conſent of the confederate powers to a peace, when the towns and provinces of Holland had granted theirs.

THERE was no other expedient to propoſe in regard to the 37th article. The deputies repeated the declaration thereof in form; and if they mentioned nothing new, it is becauſe, ſaid they, there is nothing new in the propoſals of the plenipotentiaries.

THE renewing of the project for a partition in favour of the king of Spain, was by Buys and Vanderduſſen treated as a chimera. It was ſufficient for them that it had been rejected the precedent year at the negotiations of the Hague.

THE firſt conference being over, they ſtepped out of the yacht into another veſſel. There the plenipotentiaries ſupped with the deputies; while they were at table, a courier from the Hague brought ſome diſpatches to the latter, which they read without taking any notice of the contents. The day following they propoſed to the plenipotentiaries to go to Gertrudenberg, where they might have a more convenient accommodation than on board a yacht. The plenipotentiaries conſented: yet this regard ſhewn by the deputies was not productive of the leaſt condeſcenſion at the ſecond conference.

It ſeemed now of no manner of uſe to endeavour at finding an expedient for moderating the 37th article, conſidered as the only preliminary that contained difficulties, which had hitherto been looked upon as unſurmountable; this was no longer the only obſtacle to the peace.

Buys declared there would be others in the way, after ſigning the preliminaries, and that his maſters reſerved the power to themſelves of forming what he called *ulterior* demands.

In regard to their contents he was ſilent, and only ſaid that one of them would be concerning the principality of Orange, and the eſtate depending on that ſucceſſion.

Vanderdussen, more humane than his collegue, was pleaſed to tell the plenipotentiaries in confidence, and by way of ſecrecy, that the Republic in her ulterior demands would comprehend Valenciennes, Doway, and Caſſel; and moreover would pretend an indemnification for the expence which the ſieges of Tournay and Mons had coſt her.

Thus the demands made in 1709 at the conferences of the Hague, were no longer ſufficient to ſatisfy the Dutch. It was eaſy therefore to form a judgment of the bad ſucceſs of the negotiation. The public were ſo ſanguine about the matter, that they offered commonly at the Hague, to lay three to one, upon the inutility of the conferences.

STILL the deputies continued to affirm, and would fain have it believed, that their maſters were altogether pacific in their intentions. They made proteſtations of their own private inclinations to peace. As a proof thereof, they mentioned their not having hitherto taken notice of the neceſſity of ſigning the preliminaries, a condition however neceſſary, on the execution of which the adverſaries of peace poſitively inſiſted, before they would agree to any expedient for moderating the 37th article.

THE plenipotentiaries, not well pleaſed with the firſt conference, gave an account thereof to the king, commending the polite treatment they had received, and the conveniency of the apartments prepared for them at Gertrudenberg; but they foreſaw that the negotiation would not be ſucceſsful. The ſpeeches of the deputies did not give room to think otherwiſe. They had declared in plain terms, that the allies would inſiſt as an eſſential condition of peace, on the king's uniting his forces to theirs, in order to oblige the king of Spain to renounce his crown, if he refuſed to do it voluntarily. Yet the ſame propoſition having been ventured upon the precedent year at the conferences of the Hague, appeared ſo odious, that prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough denied its ever having been made. It was renewed at the conferences of Gertrudenberg; and more than this the deputies declared they would add to it thoſe *ulterior*

rior demands, which were to be kept in reſerve, till the Republic ſhould judge proper to explain them.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many difficulties with which this Republic obſtructed the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, her allies were impatient that any appearance of negotiation ſhould continue, tho' they were perſuaded that they ſhould be always maſters of her deciſions, and that no reſolution would be taken without their approbation.

BUT the only reſolution approved by the heads of the confederacy, was to carry on the war with vigour, and to endeavour by new efforts to ruin France. They ſtill gave out, that it was neceſſary to be perpetually on their guard againſt the artifices of this nation, and ſpared no pains to prevent his majeſty's ſincerity from being known, or from making too ſtrong an impreſſion on the people.

IT was chiefly with this view, that they had fixed the place for holding the conferences at ſome diſtance from the Hague, in a ſmall fortified town, where no body could go in or out, much leſs converſe with the plenipotentiaries, without the government's being apprized of it.

BESIDES it was an eaſy matter to contrive long intervals between the conferences, and without any affected delay to ſpin the negotiations out the whole ſummer, tho' to no ſort of purpoſe; which would not have been ſo eaſy, had the plenipotentiaries been admitted to the Hague, as by the

the king's orders they demanded to be admitted, and had the liberty of conferring with the penſionary of Holland and the deputies of ſtate, as often as the neceſſity of affairs and the furthering of the negotiations would have required.

THE deputies who left Gertrudenberg the 16th of March, returned thither the 21ſt, in conſequence of the complaints which the plenipotentiaries made of ſo long a ſilence, in an affair that required more vigour and diſpatch.

BUYS was charged to anſwer the propoſal of removing the conferences to the Hague, or at leaſt to ſome neighbouring town, ſuch as Delft, Rotterdam, or to any other about the ſame diſtance. He therefore ſaid, that before the place of conferences was changed, it was requiſite the 37th article ſhould be agreed to, and the preliminaries ſigned; that after this eſſential condition was complied with, they might meet at the Hague, to ſign the treaty of peace, when all the other articles were ſettled.

IN vain did the plenipotentiaries reply, that theſe articles concerned all the powers allied againſt France; and therefore it was neceſſary to confer with their miniſters, in order to know the pretenſions of their maſters, to find out ways of removing difficulties, and to be reconciled to each other; that this would be more eaſy to effect at the Hague, where they were all aſſembled, than in any other place, eſpecially one ſo diſtant as Gertrudenberg, where not only all interview

with

with the allied miniſters was prohibited, but moreover the conferences with the deputies of the Republic were held ſo ſeldom, that by thoſe long intervals a great deal of valuable time was loſt, which might be uſefully employed in forwarding the negotiation, if all the parties concerned were met at the ſame place, eſpecially at the Hague, the reſidence of the States-General.

THE deputies declared they had ſuch orders from their maſters, as it was not in their power to contravene; and moreover that the whole difficulty of the negotiation was to ſettle the execution of the 37th article, and conſequently of the 4th, which it included.

IN order to attain this end, ſaid the plenipotentiaries, it is abſolutely neceſſary to eſtabliſh an equivalent for the king of Spain. How was it poſſible otherways to engage him to renounce the whole Spaniſh monarchy? If there be any way to make him reſolve upon ſo diſagreeable an extremity, it is by repreſenting to him on the one hand, the deplorable ſituation to which he muſt be reduced, when, deprived of all ſuccours from France, he ſhall be obliged ſingly to withſtand the attacks of ſo many potent enemies; on the other hand, the happineſs of getting rid of ſo painful a ſituation, and of having peaceful poſſeſſion of a kingdom, leſs conſiderable indeed than that of Spain, but which he ſhould enjoy unmoleſted, with the approbation of ſo many nations, whom his conſent to peace would diſarm.

THEY

THEY propoſed then to form this new monarchy, of the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the ports poſſeſſed by Spain on the Tuſcan coaſt.

THE deputies exclaimed againſt ſuch a propoſition. The emperor was maſter of Naples; his allies neither could nor ought to engage to diſpoſſeſs him.

IN regard to Sicily, neither the Engliſh, nor the city of Amſterdam would ever conſent to leave it under the obedience of a prince of the line of France.

IN ſhort, the preceding year the preſident Rouillé had declared, that the king would give up the ports on the Tuſcan coaſt. They concluded, that the allies would conſtantly oppoſe any ſuch partition. The plenipotentiaries began to infer from thence, that a ſmaller partition would not perhaps be refuſed. This ſlight notion was confirmed by ſeveral advices received, either from the Hague or from Amſterdam; they offered therefore to leave the kingdom of Sicily out of their ſcheme, and endeavoured to urge his majeſty's complaiſance in employing his good offices, to perſuade the king his grandſon to be ſatisfied with the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, and the port-towns on the Tuſcan coaſt; endeavoured, I ſay, to urge it as a mark of the attention he paid to the intereſts of the province of Holland, and particularly of the city of Amſterdam.

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THE deputies rejected this propoſal alſo.

THE allies would not conſent that a prince, who was the king's grandſon, ſhould become ſo powerful in the neighbourhood of France. They alledged that he might eaſily obtain ſuccours, to ſeize on the Spaniſh dominions in Italy, and by degrees re-aſcend the throne of Spain; and thus it was that king Auguſtus recovered the crown of Poland.

THESE alternatives having been rejected, the plenipotentiaries ſubſtituted that of leaving the king of Spain in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Arragon only; but here they met with greater oppoſition than ever.

ARRAGON was part of the continent of Spain; the nation the ſame; conſequently the poſſeſſor of that crown might find it ſtill more eaſy to elude the diſpoſitions of a treaty of peace.

THE notion of engaging ſome prince in Europe, to reſign his dominions to the king of Spain, and to receive in exchange thoſe which the allies refuſed to grant to his catholic majeſty, was treated as a chimera; in a word, not one of all the propoſals of indemnification having been admitted, the plenipotentiaries preſſed Buys and Vanderduſſen to declare at leaſt, what ſort of partition the allies would agree to. The deputies made anſwer, that if ever a partition ſhould be granted, for the ſake of peace, it could be but very inconſiderable.

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THE repeated inſtances of the plenipotentiaries proved as ineffectual, as thoſe at the former meeting.

BUYS put an end to the conference for that time, and went out with Vanderduſſen, intending to renew the converſation after dinner.

AS ſoon as they had dined, the plenipotentiaries and the deputies met again. Buys opened the conference; and waving the queſtion about the partition, he aſked what meaſures the king would take to ſecure the effect thereof, ſhould the allies be willing to grant it?

THE plenipotentiaries anſwered, that the king would fix a term for the king of Spain, to declare whether he would accept of the diſpoſition to be made in his favour. That in caſe of this prince's refuſal, or his not giving in an anſwer within the term limited, he ſhould forfeit the partition ſtipulated by the allies; that the king would then not only engage to give him no ſuccours, either directly or indirectly, but moreover to look upon it as a ſubject of rupture, ſhould this prince receive any Frenchman into his ſervice, contrary to the ſtrict prohibitions which his majeſty ſhould make to all his ſubjects, not to enliſt in the armies of Spain.

THE deputies, not ſatisfied with this offer, demanded a more poſitive engagement, ſuch a one as ſhould compel king Philip to abide by the partition which the allies might be pleaſed to leave him. They pretended therefore, that the

king ſhould formally, clearly, and without equivocation, promiſe to act in an hoſtile manner againſt the king his grandſon, if he refuſed to accept of the partition aſſigned him; that in ſuch caſe his majeſty ſhould unite his forces to thoſe of the allies, in order to compel that prince to remove out of Spain, and to be ſatisfied with his equivalent. Without this condition there could be no treaty; and there was no expedient to ſoften its rigour.

THIS conference, as ineffectual as all the others, confirmed the plenipotentiaries in the notion, that the intention of the deputies was that they ſhould demand nothing more than Sicily for an equivalent; that Buys and Vanderduſſen would only undertake to make a report thereof, and perhaps they would come back to declare, at another conference, that they had granted France what ſhe aſked, on condition however of a plain and poſitive engagement to wage war againſt the king of Spain, if he refuſed the partition, regulated and demanded in his favour. Should his majeſty refuſe to enter into this odious engagement, the Dutch and their allies would have the ſatisfaction of throwing the continuance of ſo bloody a war upon his majeſty, by having refuſed to grant the neceſſary ſecurities for cementing a ſolid peace.

TWO more conferences were held at the Hague, which proved every whit as unſucceſsful. The ſame demands very near, and the ſame

anſwers were repeated there, not forgetting the ulterior demands, the explication of which the deputies reſerved to a proper time. They ſaid only, that the Republic would for herſelf, and without prejudicing the other pretenſions of the allies, demand Valenciennes, Doway, the government of Caſſel, and an indemnification for the expences which the States had been at, in beſieging Mons and Tournay.

THEY gave to underſtand, that the archduke would have reaſon to expect a conſideration even for the ſmall partition he was to leave to king Philip.

THAT the heirs of the late king William, would inſiſt on the reſtitution of the principality of Orange.

NEITHER did they forget the intereſt of the French Proteſtants, who had taken refuge in Holland. It was but juſt, ſaid the Deputies, to grant to thoſe who ſhould be naturalized in Holland, the liberty of trading to France.

THE plenipotentiaries wrote an account to the king the 24th of March, of the diſagreeable ſtate of the negotiation. At the ſame time they begged he would pleaſe to ſend freſh inſtructions concerning four principal queſtions.

THE firſt, whether his majeſty commanded them to be ſatisfied with the kingdom of Sicily only, and to demand it as a ſufficient indemni-

fication, the firſt time they came to talk about it with the deputies of Holland.

2. WHAT aſſurance they ſhould give that his catholic majeſty would accept of an equivalent, ſo diſproportionate to the dominions which his enemies required him to renounce.

3. SUPPOSING it was poſſible to agree to theſe two articles, the plenipotentiaries deſired to know whether in that caſe they ought to ſign the preliminaries, without being acquainted with the nature of the ulterior demands.

4. IN fine, whether they ſhould inſiſt on a ſure guaranty of the peace after the preliminaries were executed, or whether they ſhould conſent to ſign without having this guaranty.

THE king commended the prudence of his plenipotentiaries, and approved of their not having demanded Sicily, as a ſufficient equivalent for the reſt of the Spaniſh dominions. Beſide the inequality of what they called an exchange, this ſmall partition did not even merit that name, becauſe it was not in their power to offer it, not being maſters of Sicily; and as his catholic majeſty ſtill poſſeſſed that kingdom, he alone had a right to diſpoſe of it.

THE king perceived that the Dutch deputies ſtill purſued the ſame method in their behaviour and diſcourſe, as they had obſerved ever ſince the commencement of the negotiations. Their whole attention was to throw the odium of breaking off the conferences upon France. This

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was the intent, this the cauſe of their ambiguous ſpeeches, of their ſtudying to diſguiſe their real ſentiments, which could only be gueſſed at, that they might afterwards demand more than they expected to obtain. By ſuch artifices they imagined they ſhould continually extort new offers from the plenipotentiaries, and that the king would at length be ſatisfied with a leſſer ſhare perhaps, than the allies were ready to grant him.

To the ſecond queſtion the king made anſwer, that he would never conſent to force his grandſon to accept of the kingdom of Sicily as an equivalent, upon conditions ſo contrary to all equity. That it was even preferable to be obliged to continue the war, though it ſhould turn out unſucceſsful, than to accept of a falſe peace, whoſe deceitful appearance could not ſecure any long enjoyment of what little his enemies ſhould leave him, under the name of indemnification.

Nevertheless, if Sicily was offered, his majeſty for the ſake of peace, ſhould adviſe his grandſon to be ſatisfied with that very inconſiderable part of ſuch extenſive dominions, rather than run the riſk of loſing the whole: but he promiſed only his advice, not his forces, to prevail on the king of Spain. He conſented however to preſcribe a limited term to him, for declaring his reſolution, and moreover to give ſuch ſtrict orders, that he ſhould receive

no further ſuccours either directly or indirectly from France.

3. The king's permitting the plenipotentiaries to ſign the preliminaries, was merely with a view to conclude the peace. Now it could not be ſaid to be concluded, ſo long as there were eſſential articles ſtill to be diſcuſſed; or while under the title of ulterior demands, the allies reſerved a power to themſelves of forming new pretenſions, one of which ſhould be alone capable to overſet the whole work, as might be judged by a Specimen of ſome of thoſe demands, which had dropped from the deputies.

They could not therefore either with reaſon, or with equity, inſiſt on having theſe demands admitted, unleſs they were previouſly explained, and granted before the ſigning of the preliminaries.

4. When both ſides were agreed, and every obſtruction to the peace was removed, the king had a right to demand that the Republic of Holland ſhould guarantee the treaty. She ought not to refuſe doing it, as ſhe had nothing to fear, if ſhe was ſure of her allies, and acted *bona fide*.

If, on the contrary, ſhe was differently diſpoſed, it would not be prudent in his majeſty to deliver himſelf up to ſecret enemies, or to enable them to attack him with freſh advantages, which they would have obtained of himſelf, by ſigning a ſham-treaty.

If the Dutch guarantyed the peace, the king would likewiſe engage in a general guaranty of the tranquillity of Europe.

THOUGH there was no room to expect that the continuing of the conferences would meet with any ſucceſs, the king repeated the orders which he had given ſeveral times before, to behave ſo as, when they broke off, the rupture ſhould not be imputed to his majeſty.

MARSHAL d'Huxelles and the abbè Polignac, acquainted the penſionary of Holland, that they had received the king's anſwers. The deputies immediately returned to Gertrudenberg, and the conferences were renewed the 7th of April. They wanted to know the contents of thoſe anſwers; to which the plenipotentiaries replied, that they had orders alſo to know of them, what reſolution their maſters had taken in regard to the equivalent for the king of Spain, and to the ſecurity of the peace.

INSTEAD of giving an exact anſwer concerning ſo eſſential a condition, the two deputies began to talk of the reproaches which they pretended to have drawn upon themſelves, from the imperial miniſters at the Hague, in conſequence of the propoſal of partition and equivalent. Thoſe miniſters charged Buys and Vanderduſſen with having changed the order of the negotiation, by conſenting to treat of a partition, when the queſtion was only to regulate the 37th article, and, purſuant to the 4th,

to agree upon the means of ſecuring the full, intire, and perfect renunciation of the Spaniſh monarchy.

THE plenipotentiaries reminded them of what had paſſed in the precedent conferences. By the bare recital it appeared, that they had always declared, in plain terms, the impoſſibility of concluding a peace, unleſs the king of Spain obtained a kind of indemnification for the different ceſſions and renunciations which the allies required on his part; that it was left to their choice, which of the different projects of partition they would give the preference to; that if they refuſed to make this choice, they ought at leaſt to give a clear explication of their intentions in regard to peace, ſince on thoſe it depended; and yet they had hitherto concealed them.

THE deputies repeated what they had often before ſaid; not one new reply on their part; in a word, they ſaid they were come merely with a view of hearing the king's propoſals; that on their part they were not impowered to offer any thing new. If France, ſaid they, demands a reaſonable partition, our maſters will uſe their endeavours to perſuade their allies to grant it; but we muſt inform you, that this partition will not be admitted, unleſs it be very moderate, and unleſs the king expreſsly engages to oblige the king his grandſon,

grandſon, either by good-will or by force, to accept of it.

THE plenipotentiaries had no ſort of doubt concerning the king's intentions; his laſt orders were clear and preciſe. They knew that his majeſty rejected all propoſal whatſoever of employing his forces, to oblige his catholic majeſty to be contented with the partition, which his enemies ſhould chalk out to him. At the ſame time it was evident, that an abſolute refuſal would ſerve for a pretext to break off the conferences, which his majeſty judged proper to keep up; that the advocates of war would, as uſual, exclaim againſt the inſincerity of France, and continue more ſucceſsfully their threadbare declamations upon the neceſſity of guarding againſt her artifices. Theſe cant-ſpeeches always made ſome new impreſſiſion, and the plenipotentiaries had reaſon to believe, that they ſhould conform to the king's intentions, by taking care not to give the people of Holland any room to blame the French, for the inſuperable difficulties with which her enemies obſtructed the peace. They imagined they had found out that the affair depended on the article of Sicily, and that by accepting this ſmall equivalent for the king of Spain, it would perhaps put an end to the war; but flattering themſelves with the hopes of obtaining ſome further addition, they demanded that the king of Spain ſhould be permitted to

add the kingdom of Naples to that of Sicily. They repreſented that the ſecurity of this prince depended on this meaſure; that it was equally intereſting to the liberty of Italy and the durability of the peace; and that this union of the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the equilibrium of Europe.

THE deputies, according to cuſtom, remained inflexible. They were obliged to abide exactly by their orders, and for want of good reaſons to juſtify their maſters, they alledged the Republic's friendſhip for the emperor, and her alliances with that prince; in ſhort, they rejected every other equivalent in favour of the king of Spain, except that of the kingdom of Sicily only, under the expreſs condition of his Majeſty's engaging to oblige the king his grandſon, to be ſatisfied with it.

NEVER was there a negotiation of peace that had greater need of the good offices of a Mediator, than the preſent. All the princes in Europe were intereſted in its concluſion. Whoever could have impartially diſcharged this honourable office, would have promoted alike the public good and his own glory; at the ſame time that he would have removed the difficulties, which the mutual pretenſions of the belligerant powers rendered unſurmountable.

THE deputies rejected the propoſal of chuſing mediators, they renewed the project of reſerving

ſerving ulterior demands, which they would not declare till after the preliminaries were ſigned. To what purpoſe is it, ſaid they, to treat any longer; all negotiation is in vain, unleſs the king determines and promiſes to join his troops with his enemies, in order to oblige his grandſon to deſcend the throne.

THE repetition of theſe ſpeeches forebode an approaching rupture; the plenipotentiaries endeavoured to avoid it, in purſuance of the orders they had received latterly: but after all, ſo much patience on the part of his Majeſty was ineffectual; his condeſcenſion increaſed the haughtineſs of his enemies, who became more difficult, in proportion as he made new conceſſions to facilitate the peace. Nothing therefore remained, but to publiſh the conſent he had given to their demands, the injuſtice of which had been already demonſtrated by the conferences of the Hague, and was greatly increaſed the following year. Then the king would no longer admit of the preliminary articles, as a baſis of the peace.

IN 1710 on occaſion of the conferences held at Gertrudenberg, his Majeſty excepted out of this project only the 4th and the 37th articles; he even conſented to execute, before the peace was ſigned, the moſt rigorous articles of a plan, drawn up by his enemies; for inſtance thoſe of delivering into their hands ſuch a number of ſtrong towns, which they were to poſſeſs in full

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property; of entruſting them with four more as pledges and a ſecurity of performing his word; of demoliſhing others under the notion of their giving umbrage and apprehenſion to thoſe very allies, who pretended to preſcribe the law, and now dictated the terms of a treaty, which they had no intention to conclude. Their reſerving ulterior demands to be produced whenever they ſhould judge proper, proved their deſign of keeping a pretence to break off all negotiation, even when it ſeemed to be neareſt a happy concluſion.

AND yet they were inceſſantly boaſting of their ſincerity; as if the public did not ſee the total violation of the treaty which the emperor Joſeph had concluded and ſigned with the electreſs of Bavaria; as if they did not remember the ſecret engagements which the duke of Savoy had contracted with the emperor Leopold, notwithſtanding his connections with France at the beginning of the war; and tracing things much higher, as if the infidelity of the Dutch in regard to their alliances had been intirely forgot. Theſe reproaches would have no ways ſuited the repoſe of Europe, which was the king's only aim, but which he could never promiſe to attain, ſo long as the liberty of forming ulterior demands furniſhed the inventors of this new pretenſion with a plauſible excuſe for protracting the war.

WHEN

WHEN marſhal d'Huxelles and the abbé Polignac ſet out for Holland, the ſeaſon for military operations was yet at ſome diſtance; ſo that there was room to hope that before the armies took the field, the negotiation might be conſiderable advanced. Yet it was now the 15th of April, without the leaſt progreſs being made; on the contrary all appearance of peace was vaniſhing, and on both ſides they talked of nothing but war. The enemy were preparing to open the campaign with the ſiege of Doway. The king of Spain was aſſembling his troops, and truſting to the fidelity and affection of his ſubjects, he had a thorough confidence of being able with his own forces only, to withſtand the efforts of his enemies. His troops were exactly paid; and he found reſources in his own kingdom, which he judged ſufficient for carrying on the war a long time. The conduct of France, in endeavouring to obtain a peace appeared to him too effeminate. Her impatience to finiſh the war, he treated as an irregular deſire. In a word, believing that ſhe would ſacrifice the intereſts of Spain to this only view, he was reſolved to try a more direct channel of treating with Holland.

THE duke of Alva at that time his catholic majeſty's ambaſſador in France, was employed by that prince, together with the count de Bergheik, to try to ſet a particular negotiation on foot with the Republic of Holland. Yet he would

would not treat unknown to France; hence the Spaniſh miniſters had orders to inform his majeſty of the commencement of the negotiation; but after it was begun, they kept every thing ſecret: indeed they had no reaſon to boaſt of their progreſs nor Bergheik to be proud of the project. He had flattered himſelf and made no manner of doubt, to find the Dutch acceſſible, and ready to liſten to him with pleaſure, when the point related to a negociation with Spain alone, diſtinct from France.

THIS uſeleſs attempt neither altered nor diminiſhed the king's ſentiments in regard to his catholic majeſty. The army which this prince had on foot, might be ſufficient to defend his kingdom, but he wanted a general.

THE duke of Vendome no longer commanded the king's armies. His reputation was great and well eſtabliſhed. The king of Spain having been witneſs of his conduct in Lombardy, deſired his majeſty to ſend him a general ſo capable of commanding his armies. The king deferred granting leave to the duke of Vendome, ſo long as he had any room to believe, that thoſe hard conditions of peace might be at length ſettled; but every day theſe expectations diminiſhed. The enemy were haſtening their military preparations, their projects were public, and the ſiege with which they intended to open the campaign, was no longer a ſecret. It was quite needleſs for

France

France to be afraid of giving umbrage; and as nothing further was to be thought on than to guard againſt the enemy's attempts, the king conſented to the duke of Vendome's accepting of the command, which the king of Spain deſigned for that general.

His majeſty informed the plenipotentiaries of of his having granted leave to the duke of Vendome, to put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh army: ſo that if they ſhould hear of complaints from the Dutch, tho' there was no foundation for any, they were to anſwer, that a tedious negotiation of uncertain iſſue, ought not to hinder his majeſty from granting a general to the king his grandſon; ſince this ſame negotiation did not prevent his enemies from taking the field betimes, and declaring the very towns they intended to beſiege.

The conferences of Gertrudenberg went on but ſlowly; one would imagine that the Dutch wanted to imitate thoſe which had been held as ineffectually at Bodegrave the year 1709. After a few conferences, in which nothing was determined, the deputies returned to Hague, from whence they did not ſtir, till the plenipotentiaries acquainted the penſionary of their having received his majeſty's anſwers in regard to the ſtate of this ſham negotiation. It ſtood ſtill from the 9th of April to the 20th of the ſame month. The plenipotentiaries wrote

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then to Heinſius, and Buys and Vanderduſſen returned to Gertrudenberg.

BEFORE they came, marſhal D'Huxelles and abbé Polignac, received different advices, which were alſo confirmed by Pettekum, of the diſpoſition of the allies to grant the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia, with the port towns on the coaſt of Tuſcany, if his Majeſty was ſatisfied with ſuch a partition for the king of Spain. It was mentioned further that the imperial miniſters and the duke of Marlborough, not only oppoſed this project, but uſed all their endeavours to engage the provinces which expreſſed the greateſt deſire of peace, to continue the war.

Whether it be that they ſucceeded, or whether the advices were ill founded, nothing could be leſs pacific than a long harangue of Buys's, at the conference held upon his return from the Hague, after repeating what he had ſo often ſaid at other times, that it was needleſs to negotiate, and that his maſters would at length determine what they had to do if the king inſiſted upon mediators, or if he demanded an explication of the ulterior demands, or the guaranty of the truce till the ſigning of the definitive treaty, or the kingdom of Naples, and the port towns on the Tuſcan coaſt, to form an equivalent for the king of Spain.

THESE conditions were not the only law, which the Dutch thought at that time they had

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a right to impoſe; they added another ſtill more rigorous; for Buys proteſted, that all condeſcenſion, all offers on the part of France would be ſuperfluous, nay would not even be liſtened to, unleſs his majeſty poſitively gave his word to compel the king his grandſon to be ſatisfied with the partition which the allies ſhould grant him.

God deſigned a larger inheritance for the deſcendants of St. Lewis, while he hardened the hearts of their enemies.

In vain did the plenipotentiaries refute every part of Buys's ſpeech: it was of no uſe to expoſe the abſurdity of it, or even to perſuade a man who had no authority to deviate from his orders; therefore this conference ended like all the reſt, without determining any thing, or even bringing things nearer to a concluſion, but rather gave occaſion to freſh difficulties that were unſurmountable.

It ſeemed as if the deputies had ſome intention to remove them at the ſecond conference, which was held the next day; for they gave to underſtand, Buys conſtantly taking the lead, that the allies were not abſolutely againſt leaving Sicily and Sardinia to the king of Spain; but they clogged this condeſcenſion with the barbarous condition of the king's obliging that prince to quit the kingdom, either of his own accord, or by force.

THE plenipotentiaries being well acquainted with his majeſty's reſolutions, in regard to this fatal clauſe, no longer preſſed the deputies to explain themſelves clearly on the article of partition. They diſputed on both ſides, without coming to an agreement concerning the neceſſity of ſpecifying the ulterior demands, of guarantying the ceſſation of arms till the concluſion of the peace. This was ſpending time to no ſort of purpoſe; at length the deputies roſe up abruptly, and, putting an end to the conference, declared it ſhould be the laſt. The plenipotentiaries however ſaid, that the bare word of the deputies was not ſufficient to oblige them to retire; that the penſionary ought to acquaint them by letter, with the reſolution of the States-general, in regard to the breaking off of the negotiation. In this they conformed to the king's intentions, by inſiſting on an evident proof of the enemy's refuſing to negotiate, and of their averſion to peace, the delay of which could not be imputed to his majeſty. Attentive to the execution of his orders, they intended to proteſt in their anſwer to the penſionary, that the king was releaſed from all his offers, and from every condition contained in the preliminaries.

THE enemy's oppoſition to peace was manifeſt. The continuing of the conferences any longer was become of no manner of uſe; the Dutch

Dutch deputies never went farther than to propoſe a ſimple truce, which they ſet at a very high price, without any ſecurity of its duration. They reſerved different pretexts for their maſters, and the power of breaking the truce whenever they pleaſed. By refuſing to explain the ulterior demands, they would have had an opportunity to form ſuch obſtacles as they might think proper, to the concluſion of a definitive peace. As there was no longer any room for the plenipotentiaries to flatter themſelves with the hopes of attaining this end, the only advantage they could now expect from ſuch a multitude of ineffectual propoſals, was that of manifeſting to all nations, allies as well as foes, that his majeſty would omit nothing for the pacification of Europe, and for terminating a bloody war, the weight of which lay ſo heavy upon ſo many people.

His majeſty approved therefore of the conduct of his plenipotentiaries, and of the reſolution they had taken not to accept of the laſt declaration of the Dutch deputies, as an abſolute rupture of the conferences. It was requiſite there ſhould be a more formal declaration, and that it ſhould appear to have been made by the States General. The public conſidered them as the depoſitaries of the peace; it ſeemed as if this precious treaſure lay buried in the ſwamps of Holland, and that it depended on the United Provinces to impart it to the univerſe.

In the mean while the internal ſtate of England began to merit ſerious attention; the ſpirit of diviſion ſeemed to reign in that kingdom, and might influence the negotiations of peace abroad. But the groundleſs prejudice in favour of the Dutch, proved a bar to all thought and reflexion on what paſſed in England; on the contrary it was ſaid, that if there was really any domeſtic diviſion in that country, it would be a more particular inducement for the only man who ſaw himſelf at the head of the nation, and inveſted with the authority of his ſovereign, while the armies were in the field, to perpetuate the war.

The king's troops were aſſembling in Flanders, in a condition to oppoſe the enterpriſes of the enemy. The event of a battle, which is in the hands of the God of armies, might give an intire change to the face of affairs.

His majeſty was willing to prevent any further bloodſhed, and to ſhew that he neglected nothing for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace: he therefore directed his plenipotentiaries to write to the penſionary of Holland, and to deſire him to ſend the deputies back, that they might be acquainted at a new conference with the laſt orders received from the court of France. The purport of theſe orders was, that the king having been informed by his plenipotentiaries, of the approaching diſſolution of the

the conferences, he was willing to know before they left Holland, what ſtep the Republic propoſed taking towards a peace, and what were her real intentions; the deputies having always involved them in obſcurity, without making the leaſt propoſal to accelerate a concluſion; that on the contrary they had envelopped their anſwers with freſh difficulties, eſpecially upon the eſſential article of the equivalent for the king of Spain, without ever expreſſing themſelves in clear terms but to reject all propoſals; that when they had given to underſtand that the forming of ſuch ſome equivalent might be agreed to, they had delivered themſelves only in vague terms, but never preciſely in regard to the territories of which it was to be conſtituted; and always adding the condition, that his majeſty ſhould oblige the king of Spain to conſent to whatever might be regulated in his favour.

THE plenipotentiaries were to preſs the deputies to explain themſelves finally in clear terms in regard to the nature of this equivalent, as the only means of removing the difficulty of the 4th and 37th articles. If they ſhould offer the kingdoms of Sicily and Sardinia, and it was impoſſible to obtain the port towns on the Tuſcan coaſt, his majeſty notwithſtanding the diſproportion of ſuch an equivalent, in lieu of the crown of Spain and the Indies, agreed ſtill to accept of it, provided ſome other expedient could be found out

to perſuade the king of Spain, leſs odious than that of obliging a father to turn his arms againſt his children. It would be needleſs to renew the remembrance of the ſituation in which the kingdom was at that time, or to revive the melancholy idea of its diſtreſſed provinces, when every reſource ſeemed to be exhauſted. Notwithſtanding the experience and abilities of the miniſter entruſted with the adminiſtration of the finances, he could not much longer find ways and means for defraying the neceſſary expences of a war, in which moſt of the powers of Europe were confederated againſt France. The king who had been accuſtomed to give laws to his enemies, with reſolution bore the change of thoſe happy times, when victory ſeemed inſeparable from his arms; but his courage did not diminiſh his compaſſion for the ſufferings of his people. His conceſſions were become of no ſort of effect; on the contrary they had increaſed the animoſity, and at the ſame time the expectations of the princes allied againſt France, who flattered themſelves with the notion of reducing her to ſo low a ſtate, that it would never more be in her power to make them tremble.

All this while the king's ſpirits were not dejected; yet nothing could be a ſtronger proof of his extreme ſenſibility of this ſituation ſo different from that of former times, than the reſolution he took at length to purchaſe a peace, not only with money, but upon conditions ſtill more

more vexatious, being convinced that the ſums he ſhould give would be well laid out, could he attain the neceſſary end, either by that means, or by adding a greater ſacrifice to it.

He was willing therefore that before his plenipotentiaries departed, they ſhould make an offer of which his majeſty would conſent to pay the allies, if upon the king of Spain's refuſing to accept of the partition agreed to, they ſhould be obliged after ſigning the peace with France, to continue the war in Spain. Such a propoſal was to be made with diſcretion, and only, if poſſible, when the plenipotentiaries thought themſelves ſure of ſucceſs, and when by ſome previous converſation they had fully diſcovered the ſentiments of the deputies.

Should there be a probability of this new propoſal's meeting with better ſucceſs than any of the reſt, it was requiſite that upon concluding the peace, the number of troops ſhould be equally reduced on both ſides, as well on the king's, as on that of the allies; for it would not be fair that his majeſty upon delivering up the ſtrong places in conſequence of the treaty of peace, ſhould be obliged to diminiſh the number of his troops in order to furniſh the ſubſidies, while the allied armies continued on the ſame footing.

A negotiation of this kind muſt have been in every reſpect moſt painful and diſagreeable, as

well on the part of the maſter who gave the orders, as of the miniſters commiſſioned to execute them. The king was willing to bear a ſhare with the plenipotentiaries: but he recommended patience to them, and not to be diſcouraged at a negotiation, indeed very irkſome, but more difficult to renew when it was once broke off, than to protract while it ſtill ſubſiſted.

THE explication of the ulterior demands was ſo neceſſary, that the king repeated his orders for inſiſting on this article, as abſolutely eſſential.

ALL this precaution was to no purpoſe; the ſpirit of war prevailed in Holland. In vain did ſome men of ſenſe perceive, and even venture to repreſent, that it was not for the intereſt of the Republic to ruin France; that if the power of this crown had been formidable hitherto, the time might come when the United Provinces would perhaps regret its being too much reduced. They conſidered the increaſe of trade in England, by means of the war which diſcouraged that of Holland, as a circumſtance portending miſchief to their ſtate. The continuance of the war threatened them with the re-eſtabliſhment of the employments heretofore poſſeſſed by the princes of Orange, and of courſe with the annihilation of their Republic and the loſs of liberty: but the credit of the Imperial and Engliſh miniſters at the Hague, together with the clamours of the

other

other miniſters of the allied princes, overpowered theſe wiſe reflexions. And indeed count Zintzendorf and lord Townshend preſſed the penſionary ſo ſtrongly, that they obliged him to order Pettekum to write to the plenipotentiaries, "That it had been judged needleſs to ſend "back the deputies to Gertrudenberg, for continuing the conferences in that town, ſince "the king made no other propoſals, than thoſe "which had been already mentioned."

To this letter were added the paſsports of the States General, and the packet was carried by an expreſs.

THE plenipotentiaries deliberated whether they ſhould go away; but they judged it more proper to defer their departure, and to wait a few days for the orders which perhaps they might receive from his majeſty. They anſwered Pettekum, "that they were extremely ſorry to "find, that notwithſtanding the advances the "king had made towards peace, his enemies "were determined to refuſe it: that ſince thoſe "gentlemen thought proper to break off the "negotiation, they ſhould prepare for their de-"parture."

YET they followed the reſolution they had taken, and a few days afterwards they received his majeſty's orders in regard to Pettekum's letter. The king commended their prudent reſolution of paying no regard to the letter of a man, who was a private ſtranger in

Holland, had no employment in that Republic, no authority or power to treat upon any point of the negotiation. So extraordinary a manner of diſmiſſing the miniſters of a great king, entruſted with his powers, could therefore be conſidered only as an artifice to engage them to retire, and to afford the enemy an opportunity of charging them with having diſſolved the conferences; becauſe otherwiſe they would never have been determined by the bare letter of ſuch a man as Pettekum, who did not ſo much as mention that he had orders to make a declaration, which was of too great importance to be notified by any other perſon than the penſionary, or the deputies hitherto employed by the Republic at the conferences.

It had been the common talk for ſome time in Holland, that France had firſt propoſed and afterwards renewed the negotiation, only in order to gain time, to ſuſpend, if poſſible, the hoſtilities, to ſtop the progreſs of the allies, and at length to deceive them.

Nothing could be a ſtronger proof of the falſity of thoſe aſſertions, than the conſtant inſtructions which the king had given to his plenipotentiaries, and particularly thoſe contained in the laſt diſpatches. His majeſty added, that if theſe laſt inſtructions ſhould be productive of no effect, if the deputies would not return to Gertrudenberg, or if they returned but ſhould refuſe as uſual to give thoſe eclairciſments,

ciſsments, which the plenipotentiaries continued to demand of them, either in regard to the equivalent for the king of Spain, or to the neceſſity of obliging him to be ſatisfied with it; in all thoſe caſes as their tarrying any longer would be not only uſeleſs, but indecent; he was willing they ſhould come away, yet ſo as to defer their departure long enough for ſending an expreſs to him, and for receiving his anſwers. The king had ſo long bore with the baſe treatment of his enemies, and particularly ſince the opening of the conferences at Gertrudenberg, that his miniſters might make no difficulty to ſtay a few days longer in that town, the better to convince the public that they were not the cauſe of breaking off a negotiation which would have laſted much ſhorter, or would not even have been ſet on foot, had the king conſulted only his own glory.

THESE laſt orders were not yet come, when the plenipotentiaries, upon receiving Pettekum's letter, wrote to the penſionary "that "they had learnt by this letter, that the confe- "rences were broke off; that a courier at the "ſame time had delivered paſsports to them "from the ſtate, for the ſecurity of their per- "ſons in their return to France; that they "were very ſorry to have laboured in vain to- "wards reſtoring the public tranquility; that as "all the advances, which the king had made, "to attain ſo important an end, had proved in- "effectual,

" effectual, they declared that his majeſty re-
" voked whatever conſent he had given to the
" preliminaries, in treating about the 37th ar-
" ticle, and that all engagement in this reſpect
" was abſolutely diſſolved.

WHATEVER ſubmiſſion the Dutch might pay at that time to the reſolutions of the emperor and of England, thoſe who were at the helm, did not think it proper for the Republic, nor for their own perſonal intereſt, to draw upon her and upon themſelves the odium of having broke off the conferences. Their aim had been always to throw the blame upon France, as if ſhe had been the cauſe of thoſe abſurd pretenſions, which the allies were always forming; and of thoſe ulterior demands, which they refuſed to explain. It was therefore reſolved, in order to amuſe the people, to ſend the deputies once more to Gertrudenberg. The allies had nothing to fear from another conference: yet the Imperial and Engliſh miniſters were alarmed at this ſtep, and expoſtulated with the penſionary about it in warm terms; but when they perceived that it was in vain for them to oppoſe a reſolution of the State, Zintzendorf would fain aſſiſt at thoſe conferences which he could not prevent. The envoys of Savoy and Brandenburg formed the ſame pretenſion; the latter threatened that his maſter would recall all his troops from the allied armies, unleſs he was directly

directly informed of every circumſtance of the negotiation which the Dutch ſtill wanted to continue.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe ſollicitations and menaces, Buys and Vanderduſſen ſet out for Gertrudenberg; whither they came unaccompanied, and renewed the conferences: they ſaid they were come to hear what new conditions the plenipotentiaries had to propoſe; but neither on the part of the Republic, nor of her allies, did they make any offers concerning the partition intended for the king of Spain. They ſuppoſed they had made themſelves ſufficiently underſtood in the precedent conferences. The plenipotentiaries anſwered, that the deputies muſt have alſo underſtood them ſufficiently, ſince they ceaſed to demand the kingdom of Naples, as a part of the equivalent for his Catholic majeſty.

SINCE we underſtand one another, replied the deputies, you muſt renounce all pretenſions to the port towns on the Tuſcan coaſt; ſince it is not for the good of Europe, that a prince of the line of France ſhould have a foot of ground on the continent of Italy.

THEY gave room however to believe that this deſiſtance would engage the Republic to interpoſe her good offices with her allies in favour of king Philip; that they would endeavour to obtain Sicily and Sardinia for him; and (what they had never ſaid yet) that they hoped to meet with Suc-

ſucceſs: but they added the eſſential and capital condition, that to obtain this equivalent, the archduke muſt be put into the real poſſeſſion of Spain and the Indies. Declare therefore, ſaid they, what does the king bind himſelf to, for ſecuring the effectual reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy. To what conditions you pleaſe, replied the plenipotentiaries, except making war directly againſt the king his grandſon.

THE deputies replied that there were but two ways to oblige people to do what they are deſired; perſuaſion, and conſtraint. If the former does not ſucceed, we muſt needs have recourſe to the latter, or we are to deſpair abſolutely of a peace.

IN vain did the plenipotentiaries repreſent the barbarity of ſo odious a propoſal. The deputies maintained that there was no other expedient to obtain a peace, than by limiting a term of two months, for the king of Spain, to accept of the partition propoſed to him; that if he perſiſted to refuſe it, he ſhould forfeit it irrecoverably after the expiration of the term; that the king ſhould be then obliged to join his forces to thoſe of the allies, in order to drive him not only out of Spain, but out of all the dominions dependent on that monarchy.

THE debates were renewed, and grew ſo warm, that the plenipotentiaries had neither room nor opportunity for introducing properly the

the offer of the ſubſidies, which the king conſented to pay the allies, towards the Spaniſh war. This offer would have been quite uſeleſs; eſpecially as the deputies inſiſting on a condition, which according to them was eſſentially neceſſary, made no promiſe on the behalf of their maſters, either of any ſecurity, or of a guaranty of the truce which was to precede the treaty. Neither were they more open in reſpect to the ulterior demands, a ſource of new pretenſions and difficulties, whenever they found that the principal articles were ſettled. Some of thoſe ulterior demands the plenipotentiaries began to ſee into.

THOSE of the emperor in favor of the duke of Lorrain, were, that the king ſhould let this prince have the equivalent, which he had been promiſed for Longwi; and beſides, as the duchy of Montferrat had been given, in prejudice to him, to the duke of Savoy, the court of Vienna could imagine no other expedient for indemnifying the duke of Lorrain, than to procure Alſace for him; and with this view they pretended to oblige the king to yield that province. As his majeſty thought this honour engaged in reinſtating the electors of Cologne and Bavaria in their dominions and dignities, and cauſing the ban of the empire to be taken off, which had been ſo unjuſtly pronounced againſt them, the reſtoration of both thoſe princes was made to depend on the ceſſion of Alſace: more-

moreover the court of Vienna wanted to limit the reſtoration of the elector of Bavaria, pretending that it ſhould not comprehend the upper Palatinate, nor the rank of firſt elector; that the elector Palatine ſhould have the upper Palatinate and the rank of firſt elector, during his life; that his brother prince Charles ſhould enjoy it after him; and that neither ſhould revert to the electoral branch of Bavaria, till after the deceaſe of thoſe two princes.

To theſe demands they would have added that which the elector of Mentz had made the year before as well in his own name, as in the behalf of ſeveral princes of the empire. They pretended that the king ſhould deliver up by way of reſtitution, the three biſhoprics, to be reunited to the Germanic body. Such a pretenſion, which would have been treated as chimerical at the conferences of the Hague, was become a very juſt one at thoſe of Gertrudenberg; becauſe at that time there was no demand that did not appear juſt and reaſonable, provided it was injurious to France. It was ſufficient that it diminiſhed the king's power, to be adopted and enrolled by his enemies in the liſt of ulterior demands.

LITTLE would one have imagined under theſe circumſtances, that the time ſhould come, when the Dutch now ſo eager to reduce the power of France, and ſo ready to humour the

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averſion of her enemies, with concern would acknowledge that ſhe was too much reduced, and would excite her to take up arms, in concert with the Republic, againſt thoſe very allies to whom ſhe was at that time intirely devoted.

As little could it be imagined, that France after ſo many efforts, to maintain a prince of the royal line on the throne where God had placed him, that this ſame France, in league wih her former enemies, ſhould turn her arms againſt the prince, whom ſhe had ſupported at the price of ſuch hardſhips and ſuch effuſion of blood; in a word, that thoſe who ought to have been the moſt affected with the glory of their maſter, and the ſplendor of his royal houſe, ſhould be grieved that the Auſtrian family reigned no longer in Spain, and conſider it as a misfortune, that this crown the ſecond in Europe, was to remain in the Bourbon line.

And yet theſe improbabilities came to paſs in a very little time. But as they have no relation to the negotiation of Gertrudenberg, but happened ſome years after, I ſhall reſume the thread of my narration.

The plenipotentiaries were therefore of opinion, that waving the offer of the ſubſidies, from which they expected no good effect, the negotiation would not advance a whit the faſter, even if they were to give up the port towns on the Tuſcan coaſt, which they had demanded as

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an addition to the king of Spain's equivalent. And the conference being over, they declared that ſince the allies refuſed to ſecure the continuance of the truce till the conſummation of the peace, his majeſty could not engage to anſwer for the king of Spain, that this prince would renounce his crown, or be ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a partition.

YET the real ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, was the moſt knotty point of the negotiation. The Dutch and their allies admitted of no other expedient, than to oblige the king to wage war alone and at his own expence, in order to compel his grandſon by force of arms to renounce his crown. This ſcheme, which prince Eugene had diſowned the year before, as an artifice invented by France, to impoſe upon the public, and to make them believe, that the allied miniſters were the declared enemies of peace; this very ſcheme was not only become real, but maintained as the baſis of a ſolid and laſting tranquility.

THE king could not promiſe what was not in his power to execute; and he very well knew that the method of perſuaſion propoſed by one of the deputies, would produce no effect, nor make the leaſt impreſſion on the king of Spain.

THE method of compulſion was ſhocking, yet neceſſity muſt be obeyed; and as the neceſſity was extreme, his majeſty, ſenſible to the calami-

calamities of his people, and preferring their eaſement to every other conſideration, was willing ſtill to try whether any good could be derived from this tedious negotiation, whether it would be poſſible to oblige his enemies to declare the pretenſions which they had in reſerve under the name of ulterior demands, and to ſettle the ſecurities for the ceſſation of hoſtilities, till the ſigning of peace.

THE new orders which he ſent to his plenipotentiaries, after he had received their account of the laſt conference, impowered them to declare in his name, that he would uſe all his endeavours to perſuade the king of Spain to be ſatisfied with the iſlands of Sardinia and Sicily, and to yield and renounce, for the ſake of peace, the kingdom of Spain with the other dominions ſubject to that crown.

IN caſe of refuſal, his majeſty conſented to pay ſuch a ſum of money as ſhould be agreed upon, in order to furniſh the allies with the means of carrying on and finiſhing the Spaniſh war.

IF this was accepted of, the plenipotentiaries were to inſiſt on a mutual reduction of troops, as well on the part of the king, as on that of his enemies.

BUT if theſe offers ſhould be rejected, the plenipotentiaries were ordered again to aſk the deputies in the moſt preſſing terms, in what

manner their maſters deſired the king to join his forces to thoſe of the allies, if his majeſty could ever condeſcend to ſuch a junction, in order to oblige his grandſon to reſign his crown. It was eſſential at the ſame time to know preciſely, what were thoſe ulterior demands, which had been hitherto held in reſerve, contrary to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity. Beſides what had been already diſcovered in regard to thoſe demands, it was now rumoured that the Dutch propoſed to add that of a full liberty for the French refugees to return back to France, and to take poſſeſſion again of the eſtates or property which they had left behind them.

The deputies had demanded that a limited term ſhould be preſcribed to the king of Spain for accepting the partition, which the allies ſhould chuſe to allow him, and this term ſhould be only two months. The king ordered his plenipotentiaries not to diſpute about obtaining a longer term, eſpecially as it would be of no ſervice, ſince if king Philip refuſed the firſt moment to accept of the partition propoſed to him, nothing would be able to make him alter his reſolution; that his refuſal would be a proof of his having judged it to be more advantageous for himſelf and the princes his children, abſolutely to reject all kind of equivalent, than to enter into a covenant concerning his lawful rights,

rights, upon conditions which fear alone could make him ſubmit to.

THESE laſt orders having been received after the deputies were returned to the Hague, the plenipotentiaries deſired the penſionary once more to ſend thoſe gentlemen back to Gertrudenberg. Upon which count Zintzendorf renewed his former inſtances, that he might be permitted to aſſiſt at this laſt conference.

THE penſionary, in concert with Vanderduſſen, in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him from it. Zintzendorf, before he would yield, was willing to know what prince Eugene thought of the matter, and accordingly ſent an expreſs to him, to aſk his opinion.

IN the mean time the deputies ſet out from the Hague, and arrived at Gertrudenberg the 15th of the ſame month of June: they fell to buſineſs directly; but this laſt conference did not prove more ſucceſsful than any of the preceding.

THE plenipotentiaries preſſed them to explain themſelves clearly in regard to the equivalent deſigned for the king of Spain. "Take away, "ſaid the deputies, the port towns of Tuſcany "from the partition which you demanded, and "he ſhall have the remainder.

"THE Republic will endeavour to obtain it "of her allies, as ſoon as the king ſhall have "given proper and neceſſary ſureties of the

" ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy and the " Indies."

THUS the ſame point of the principal difficulty ſtill ſubſiſted. The ſame queſtion concerning the ſecurities was repeated over and over again; and it was only upon condition of thoſe real ſecurities, that the deputies gave any hopes that their maſters and their allies would conſent to leave Sicily and Sardinia to the king of Spain.

THE plenipotentiaries could do no more on their part than repeat the ſame things, which they had ſo often mentioned at all the conferences, in regard to thoſe pretended ſecurities, the obſtinate demand of which was an inſuperable obſtacle to the peace. The deputies ſaid that if they had thoſe ſecurities, they ſhould ſpeak more to the purpoſe. The plenipotentiaries continued to repreſent, that it was impoſſible for the king to promiſe what it was not in his power to accompliſh, except perhaps on two conditions.

THE firſt, that the allies ſhould offer, and jointly guaranty the kingdoms of Sicily and Sardinia to king Philip, in order to indemnify him for the ceſſion of Spain and the Indies.

THE ſecond, that they ſhould all together give a full and intire guaranty and ſecurity for the conſummation of the peace, after the expiration

piration of the term fixed for the ſuſpenſion of arms.'

THIS term was no more than two months; it was the term which the allies allowed the king of Spain, to come to a reſolution in regard to the partition that ſhould be offered him. The plenipotentiaries flattered themſelves it would be lengthened to three months; but this was a queſtion of the leaſt importance. The main difficulty ſtill turned on thoſe real ſecurities, which were conſidered as impoſſible by the king, and inſiſted upon as eſſential by his enemies.

THE deputies admitted of no other ſecurity, than the junction of his majeſty's troops to thoſe of the allies, in order to compel the king of Spain to renounce his crown, without the leaſt equivalent, unleſs he accepted that which ſhould be offered, and declared his acceptance in the term of two months.

THE plenipotentiaries thoroughly acquainted with the king's intentions and ſenſible of the juſt horror his majeſty had to declare war againſt his grandſon, again rejected ſuch a propoſal, defending their refuſal by the preliminaries themſelves; as none of thoſe articles, though dictated by the ſpirit of reſentment againſt France, required ſo barbarous a condition.

EVEN the very intent of the preſent conferences had been to look out for ſome expedient

tending to the ſame end, excluſive of compulſion by arms. They inſiſted that it was not for the allies to preſcribe it as an abſolute law, and unjuſtly to prefer it to any other means, when they were met to conſider of one more moderate.

Besides what difficulties would not ſo ſtrange a junction produce? Would nations that for ſo many years had been at enmity, act in concert? The deputies interrupted the detail of thoſe difficulties, ſaying that the care of removing all thoſe impediments, and of remedying ſuch inconveniencies as might ariſe in the courſe of the war, muſt be left to the generals.

In order to prevent them, replied the plenipotentiaries, would it not be better that the king ſhould furniſh ſuch ſums as might be agreed to, for contributing to the expences of the war? The deputies did not diſlike the notion; but they had no orders. They contented themſelves therefore with aſking, what ſum, or nearly what ſum the king would contribute per month, and what ſecurity he would give for the payment.

The plenipotentiaries excuſed themſelves in their turn, from propoſing a fixed ſum without any orders, and concerning an expedient, which they had mentioned only of their own heads. They added, notwithſtanding, that they were convinced the king might approve of it, eſpecially

cially if the deputies would acquaint them with nearly the ſum, which their maſters might pretend to.

As the ſame orders were neceſſary in regard to the quantity, as to the acceptance of the ſum, the deputies only promiſed that they would endeavour at their return from the Hague, to bring ſome inſtruction with them in regard to this new offer; that in their apprehenſion, the king ought to be at the principal expence of a war of which he had been the chief promoter: "that he was anſwerable for the injury "done to the houſe of Auſtria, and of courſe "he was bound more than any other power, to "procure for that houſe the reſtitution of the "Spaniſh monarchy."

As it was the cuſtom to inſiſt upon the king's giving pledges for the performance of his promiſes; no Dutchman could forget to demand a ſecurity of his majeſty's pecuniary engagements. The plenipotentiaries made anſwer that the principal bankers of Paris and Amſterdam ſhould be anſwerable; but that was not enough. The deputies obſerved that thoſe bankers were mortal, and moreover that their engagement was not ſufficient to ſecure the exact payment of ſuch conſiderable ſums. They looked upon no ſecurity as valuable except that of pawns; for which reaſon, without relinquiſhing the engagement of the bankers, they inſiſted on his majeſty's delivering up four

more of his ſtrong towns as a pledge, into the hands of the Republic.

THE conteſt upon this article was to no manner of purpoſe, for neither ſide were perſuaded; it was the ſame with the propoſal made by the plenipotentiaries, of a mutual reduction of troops, as ſoon as all the articles ſhould be agreed to.

THEY could not obtain any eclairciſsment in regard to the ulterior demands: what they ſaid about the matter, only gave the deputies an opportunity to let them know, that the Republic would inſiſt on an indemnification for the expences incurred and to be incurred in conſequence of the ſiege of Doway which they had lately undertaken.

THAT ſhe would inſiſt on obtaining, in favour of the French refugees naturalized in Holland, the liberty of trading to France, as they traded in the countries ſubject to the States General.

THE duke of Lorrain, who ranked in the number of the allies, was to have an equivalent for the dutchy of Montferrat. The emperor had promiſed to indemnify him, at the time when he diſpoſed of that Dutchy, in prejudice to the duke of Lorrain; and this indemnification was to be Alſace. Without this condition the king ſhould not obtain the reſtoration of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne.

THIS ſpecimen of the ulterior demands, gave ſufficient room to judge, that the permiſſion which the plenipotentiaries had received, to de-

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ſiſt from their demand of the port towns on the Tuſcan coaſt, in the partition deſigned for the king of Spain, would have no manner of effect; therefore they made no uſe of it, ſo that both ſides were ſilent in regard to this article.

THIS conference having thus ended with the ſame bad ſucceſs as all the reſt, the deputies departed the 17th of June, and promiſed to return to Gertrudenberg, as ſoon as the plenipotentiaries received the king's orders.

THE internal ſtate of Holland but ill ſuited the ſpeeches of her miniſters, and the iniquity of their pretenſions.

NEITHER did England ſuffer leſs than Holland, from the continuance of ſo long and ruinous a war. The king had been appriſed of the ſtate of both nations; but their miſery was no eaſe or relief to the ſufferings of his own ſubjects.

FRANCE was in ſo great neceſſity of peace, that it could not be concluded too ſoon. His majeſty therefore gave a further extent to the powers, with which he had entruſted his plenipotentiaries.

THEY had propoſed as a mere random thought, and as an expedient ariſing from their own reflexion, the engagement which the king might lay himſelf under, of paying by way of monthly ſubſidy to the allies, a certain ſum to help them to carry on the Spaniſh war. His majeſty was willing, for his laſt reſource, that this extraordinary propoſition ſhould be made in his own

own name. The only moderation committed to the prudence of the plenipotentiaries, conſiſted in making the offer of this ſtrange payment gradually.

At firſt it was to be five hundred thouſand livres a month, a ſum very near equivalent to what it had coſt his majeſty to maintain his troops in Spain, during the time they ſerved in that kingdom. He authoriſed his plenipotentiaries to carry their offer as far as a million of livres per month, if the ſum of five hundred thouſand was not accepted. They were to fix the beginning of the payments, to the expiration of the term which ſhould be preſcribed to the king of Spain, for reſolving on the partition deſigned for him.

With reſpect to the ſecurities, they ſhould be ſuch as the allies could have no reaſon to demand better. Yet if they ſhould not be ſatisfied, the king conſented to deliver up as a depoſit into the hands of the Dutch, three or even four towns, at his majeſty's option, for the ſecurity of the punctual performance of his word.

Alsace, one of the ulterior demands, completed the ſacrifice. The king conſented alſo to give this up, on condition that he ſhould hear no more of ulterior demands, and that the two electors were perfectly re-inſtated in their goods, territories, and dignities; upon this condition he would take no notice of the baſe behaviour of the duke of Lorrain, or of the diſpo-

diſpoſitions, which the allies might make in his favour.

He left them alſo at liberty to reſerve in that caſe the enjoyment of the Upper Palatinate, as well as the rank of firſt elector, for the elector Palatine during his life, provided however that both ſhould revert to the elector of Bavaria, after that prince's deceaſe.

So many conceſſions, even beyond what might naturally be expected from his majeſty's extreme deſire of peace, were not the laſt, which he allowed his plenipotentiaries to propoſe for the completion of ſo difficult a work. He empowered them to add further the ceſſion of Valenciennes, ſhould it be poſſible upon this condition to ſuppreſs and abſolutely to aboliſh all ulterior demands: but at the ſame time he repeated in the moſt expreſs terms the poſitive orders he had often given them, to reject every propoſal which his enemies ſhould renew, in favour of the French of the reformed religion, who had taken refuge in Holland, or in any other foreign country.

At the ſame time news came that the Dutcheſs of Marlborough, firſt lady of the bed chamber to the queen of England, was diſgraced: the duke of Marlborough himſelf gave notice of it to his nephew the duke of Berwick. This diſgrace was the firſt effect of the internal commotions of England, and of the ſecret intrigues of that court. The conſequence gene-

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rally drawn from thence was, that the huſband's credit would not long ſurvive the wife's diſgrace; and that if this ſhould be Marlborough's fate, there would be an eaſier way to peace. Thoſe who thought themſelves more clear-ſighted, reaſoned otherwiſe, and judged that this change, far from facilitating, would be a new hindrance to a peace. Their conjectures they founded on the private account which Marlborough found in prolonging the war, as the only way to render himſelf neceſſary, and to maintain himſelf in his employments, authority being violently attacked by thoſe who had the freeſt acceſs to the queen.

PETTEKUM ſtill eager to act a part in the negotiations of peace, was ſent by the penſionary of Holland to Gertrudenberg, where he arrived the 22d of June, before the plenipotentiaries had received his majeſty's laſt orders. He brought with him a writing dictated, as he ſaid, but not ſigned by the penſionary, mentioning that their propoſal of contributing by ſubſidies to carry on the war in Spain, had been canvaſſed a long while at the Hague, and at length rejected. Pettekum added of himſelf, that it had been conſidered, if the allies accepted of it, they ſhould continue engaged in the war, till they conquered the Spaniſh monarchy; that France alone would enjoy the benefit of the peace; that ſhe would recover her ſtrength, while the allies allured by the ſeeming advan-

advantage of pecuniary engagements, would only exhauſt themſelves at laſt.

THIS was departing from the ſpirit of the preliminaries, which ought to be conſidered as an inviolable rule of negotiating. Purſuant to theſe articles, the joint enemies of France and Spain ought upon ſigning the peace, to take poſſeſſion of Spain and the Indies. As they had nothing further to do with the expences and troubles of a burdenſome war, it was the king's buſineſs to undertake ſingly this great burden, if he was deſirous of peace. Therefore they left nothing further to his majeſty than the option of what method he ſhould employ, perſuaſion or force, to oblige the king of Spain to renounce a crown, which they would not be at the trouble of conquering. Two months was the ſpace limited, for the king to terminate this work, and the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was to ceaſe, if in this time the whole was not completely finiſhed.

THE Imperial and Engliſh miniſters gave out, that France ever full of her artifices, explained herſelf very darkly; that if the king's intentions were ſincere, his miniſters would make uſe of clearer terms. Such were their ſpeeches, which the ignorant vulgar gave credit to, at a time when the plenipotentiaries were making the greateſt conceſſions in vain, and when they could not ſqueeze out of the Dutch depu-

deputies, ſo much as one preciſe anſwer to the advantageous offers of his majeſty.

PETTEKUM's ſpeeches were confirmed by ſeveral hands, inſomuch that there was no ſort of doubt of their being true. But nothing could be more irregular than the manner of breaking off the conferences which had been deſigned for treating of the general peace of Europe, and of diſmiſſing the miniſters of a great king, without any other form than a verbal order, ſignified by a ſtranger independent of the Republic of Holland, agent to a German prince, and who moreover had no order of the States General, nor even a letter from the penſionary, or his ſign manual, to confirm the writing which he preſented to the plenipoteniaries.

THOUGH it evidently appeared that the enemy were determined to continue the war, and wanted to throw the odium of breaking off the conferences upon the king; yet his majeſty was ſtill willing to go on with the negotiation, notwithſtanding that he expected no good from it. He had more than once recommended to his plenipotentiaries to arm themſelves with patience; and he reſolved to ſet them an example even to the end of this melancholy negotiation. Therefore his ultimate orders were, that they ſhould write to the deputies, to know what uſe they had made of the propoſal of the ſubſidies offered at the laſt conference, for carrying on the war in Spain. In the ſame letter the plenipotentiaries

potentiaries declared, that they could not look upon that as a proper anſwer, which Pettekum pretended to have brought them on the part of the penſionary, being irregular both as to matter and form; that in default of a poſitive anſwer, in due and proper form, they were deſirous to know, at leaſt whether the conferences were broke off; a queſtion ſo much the more neceſſary to be cleared up, as the enemies of peace ſtuck at no untruths to deceive the people, and to make them believe, that the king's only view was to gain time, in hopes of ſome favourable conjuncture, which he ſhould improve to maintain his grandſon on the throne of Spain.

THAT this was the ſole view of ſo many ſpecious offers, which the allies had diſcovered to be nothing more than mere artifice, and for that reaſon had rejected, becauſe they alone ſhould have continued to bear the whole weight of the War, while France was at her eaſe.

ALL proſpect of peace being vaniſhed, it was his majeſty's intereſt that the truth ſhould be known; that the united provinces, as well as the ſeveral nations engaged in the war, ſhould be informed from what quarter ſuch a cloud of difficulties were raiſed againſt concluding the peace. This was one of the principal reaſons that had induced the king ſo frequently to repeat his orders to the plenipotentiaries, for them to continue their ſtay in Holland as long as poſſible. His majeſty was perſuaded, that it would be

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better to keep the negotiation ſtill alive, and to bear the inſolence, injuſtice, and inſincerity of the negotiators and their maſters, than abſolutely to diſſolve the conferences, as the advocates of war could have wiſhed. To them all appearance of negotiation was diſagreeable, eſpecially as they apprehended the juſt reproaches of the pacific party, and the ſtruggles they would make to put an end to the war, when they came to draw up a new ſtate of its expences, and to lay it before the provinces. Beſides, they were afraid of the domeſtic diviſions in England, and the fatal conſequences that might attend them.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this negotiation, the king of Spain had ſo clearly manifeſted his intentions, that there was no longer the leaſt room to believe he would ever conſent to yield the crown of Spain, for any partition whatſoever. It would have been therefore of no uſe to diſpute any longer concerning the *magis* or *minus* of the equivalent to be propoſed to him; for which reaſon the king at the ſame time that he confirmed the orders he had given to his plenipotentiaries, of offering ſubſidies for the Spaniſh war, commanded them ſtill further to drop all conteſt in regard to the partition, and even to deſiſt from the demand of Sicily and Sardinia.

THESE laſt orders were contained in the diſpatches of the 23d of June. As ſoon as they received them, they acquainted the penſionary that his majeſty had ſent them new inſtructions,

and

and they deſired the deputies would return to Gertrudenberg, in order to hear the king's anſwers, and to communicate the reſolution of the States General in regard to the laſt conference.

THE plenipotentiaries wrote this letter the 2d of July; ſeveral days paſſed before they knew what reſolution would be taken at the Hague. To renew the conferences was directly contrary to the intereſt of thoſe who ſtill had the lead in England. The abſolute authority they had for ſeveral years enjoyed in that kingdom, was ſlipping thro' their fingers; and the only way to hold it, was to prolong the war. Their domeſtic enemies attributed the continuance of this war, to the account which thoſe miniſters found in maintaining themſelves at the head of the treaſury, and of the army. The Tory party, hitherto the weakeſt, had already impeached ſome of the Whigs poſſeſſed of the chief employments; theſe impeachments had produced the deſired effect, and been effective of changes, which were looked upon as a prelude to more conſiderable revolutions: there was a glimmering hope, that theſe domeſtic diviſions would contribute to the pacification of Europe.

THE Dutch, whoſe intereſt it was above all other powers to deſire an end of the war, were exhauſting themſelves in complaiſance to their allies, and thro' falſe politics neglecting an opportunity which they might never ſee again, of

wreſting a number of conquered towns from the king, and the crown of Spain from his grandſon, while his majeſty at the ſame time muſt acknowledge himſelf indebted to their ſucceſsful endeavours in concluding the general peace.

HEINSIUS ſupported by the duke of Marlborough and by prince Eugene, had contrived to blind his maſters, and to put them upon a wrong ſcent. Purſuant to his advice they were to liſten to no propoſals of treaty, unleſs Spain and the Weſt Indies were previouſly delivered up to the houſe of Auſtria. He maintained that the conferences of Bodegrave, of the Hague, and laſtly of Gertrudenberg, had been opened upon this foundation; that the Republic ſhould never give up ſuch a preliminary, *unleſs*, as he ſaid, *all was loſt*.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſituation of things, and the numerous difficulties with which the advocates of war oppoſed the renewal of the conferences, the deputies returned to Gertrudenberg the 13th of July. They delivered a letter from the penſionary, written in general terms; and ſaid that they were come to know the king's determination concerning the commiſſion, which Pettekum had executed in the name of all the allies.

THE plenipotentiaries made anſwer that Pettekum had delivered a very dark ſort of a memorial; of which they deſired an explanation, as well as of the intentions of the Republic. They likewiſe demanded an anſwer to the propoſal they had made at the laſt conference.

BOTH ſides complained of ſilence in regard to eſſential points, where an eclairciſſement was abſolutely neceſſary to forward the negotiation.

AFTER theſe complaints, the deputies raiſing their tone of voice, delivered themſelves with the ſame air of importance, as if the articles of peace had been dictated by the conquerors of the univerſe. They ſeemed to have the power of obliging a potent monarch to chuſe in a few moments, whether he would accept of the laws which they ſhould impoſe, or plunge at once into evitable ruin.

" IT is the will of the allies, ſaid they, that " the king ſhall undertake, either to perſuade " his grandſon, or to compel him ſingly, and " with his own forces, to renounce the whole " Spaniſh monarchy." Every other propoſal of aſſiſting to carry on the war againſt king Philip was rejected." " Neither money, nor " the junction of French troops, is the thing " that ſuits them; the execution of the treaty " is what they require, and that all the preli- " minaries ſhall be fulfilled to their ſatisfaction

" in the ſpace of two months: at the expira-
" tion of this term the war is to be renewed,
" even though all the other preliminary articles
" ſhould be intirely complied with on the part
" of his majeſty."

UPON this condition, Buys, who took the lead, ſaid that his maſters permitted him to explain himſelf concerning the partition deſigned for the king of Spain; and moreover that they would make the article of ulterior demands very eaſy, which might be ſettled before they ſigned the preliminaries. At length Buys and Vanderduſſen gave to underſtand, that the allies would by way of favour permit the troops in their pay, as well in Catalonia as in Portugal, to act in concert with the French, for making the conqueſt of Spain, during the truce of two months, and for delivering up that kingdom and the Indies into the poſſeſſion of the archduke.

IT was eaſy, but needleſs, to anſwer. The orders given to the deputies were ſo particular, that they could not in the leaſt deviate from them. Their ſhort ſentences, their very tone and manner of expreſſion were all according to preſcription. To oppoſe them with any argument would have been idle. The only reſource the plenipotentiaries had left, was ſilence, difficult indeed on ſuch an occaſion, but more adviſeable, than to break off the conferences.

THE

THE deputies going to withdraw, ſaid that the Republic would grant the plenipotentiaries fifteen days more at the furtheſt, to wait for the king's anſwer at Gertrudenberg; that as ſoon as it came, they ſhould have another conference, which was to be the laſt, neither the Republic nor her allies judging it proper to continue the negotiation any longer.

SUCH a declaration preceded by Buys's harangue, and attended with the conditions which the allies pretended to impoſe, was on their part a real diſſolution of every kind of negotiation: but the better to demonſtrate how averſe they were to all reaſonable propoſals, it will be proper to ſum up and throw into one proſpect, the ſeveral pretenſions of which they formed their ſham project of peace, the only one that could pleaſe them.

THEY required therefore as a baſis of the treaty, that the king upon ſigning it, ſhould expreſly engage ſingly and without any aſſiſtance, to compel the king of Spain by force of arms to a renunciation of his crown.

THAT the war he was to wage againſt that prince, in order to ſtrip him of his dominions in favour of the houſe of Auſtria, ſhould be concluded in the ſpace of two months, within which term king Philip was to be diſpoſeſſed of Spain and the Indies.

THE propoſal of paying ſubſidies, of ſharing the expences of the war, and of giving ſe-

curity for the payments were all rejected. Nor did they mind the ſcheme of joining their troops to thoſe of France. They inſiſted on the king's making the conqueſt of Spain, in order to deliver it up together with the Indies, to the archduke; and they would fain be idle ſpectators of a war between the grandfather and grandſon.

THEY perſiſted to declare that if Spain was not reduced at the expiration of two months, the truce ſhould ceaſe, and again they ſhould have recourſe to arms, tho' France had fulfilled the preliminaries, the main article being that of the reſtitution of Spain.

THE only mitigation they would allow to ſuch monſtrous articles, was their promiſing to explain before they were ſigned, what ſort of partition they would leave to king Philip. The Dutch engaged on their part to facilitate the means of agreeing to the ulterior demands. They gave ſome faint hopes that perhaps they might manage ſo with their allies, as to permit that their troops in Catalonia and in Portugal ſhould join the king's forces, in order to conquer Spain and the Indies in the ſpace of two months, for no longer was the truce to continue.

THESE were the terms, and the only terms, as appears by the relation of the conferences, on which they would allow the king to purchaſe the ſhadow of peace. And in order to remove all ſubject of doubt, the deputies added

ded, it was true, the Republic and her allies had propoſed to unite their forces to thoſe of France, in order to put the archduke in poſſeſſion of Spain and the Indies: but affairs, ſaid they, are altered. "Such a junction is now "quite out of the queſtion; and in the name "of our maſters, we diſavow any ſuch pro-"poſal.

"THE buſineſs is no longer to ſearch for ex-"pedients; the only way to obtain a peace, is "for the allies to receive Spain and the Indies "from the king's hands. It is not their affair "to trouble themſelves about the means; it is "ſufficient that they conſent to let king Philip "have ſuch an equivalent as they ſhall allot "him; in regard to which they will explain "themſelves at a proper time."

THE negotiation being thus broke off, the king ſent orders to his plenipotentiaries, upon receiving their account of the laſt conference, to write word to the penſionary, that it was needleſs to allow them fifteen days, for receiving further inſtructions from his majeſty; that he had but too fully proved his conſent to every condition in his power, for promoting the peace; but he could not engage to execute what was abſolutely out of his power; that the allies by inſiſting on ſuch terms ſhewed they had no other view than to break off all negotiation; that his majeſty confiding in the protection of the God of armies, who can, whenever he

pleaſes, pull down thoſe whom unexpected proſperity has lifted up, would leave all Europe, not excepting even the people of Holland and England, to judge who were the cauſe of the continuance of ſo long and bloody a war; that to determine which ſide really delighted in war, it would be ſufficient to conſider the advances made by his majeſty, the conſent he had given to the moſt cruel conditions, the engagements he offered to take upon him for ſecuring the peace, and removing the unjuſt-ſuſpicions of his enemies; afterwards to reflect on the obſtinacy of their miniſters in concealing the intentions of their maſters, and on the care they had always taken to inwrap what little they did diſcover, with ſuch a cloud of words, that it was impoſſible to lay any ſtreſs upon their ſtudied ſpeeches: ſo that it manifeſtly appeared that their only aim was to reſerve pretexts to themſelves for trumping up new demands, as faſt as their former pretenſions were granted, and to ſhuffle and cut either according to the events of the war, or to the conceſſions which the king ſhould make for the obtaining of peace: that laſt year, they looked upon it as an injurious ſuppoſition, propagated merely with an intent to render them odious, to charge them with having propoſed at the conferences of the Hague, the junction of his majeſty's forces to thoſe of the allies, in order to dethrone king Philip; but ſince that time, and eſpecially at the conferences of Gertruden-

trudenberg, they had not only adopted the propoſition, but moreover maintained that without this condition it was impoſſible to conclude a peace, adding further that if they ſpoke in more moderate terms at the opening of this laſt conference, they were to blame; that for the future they ſhould make amends for their ill judged modeſty, and behave with leſs reſerve.

THAT the late declaration of the deputies being a formal rupture of the conferences, the plenipotentiaries ſhould declare it was needleſs to permit them to ſtay fifteen days longer at Gertrudenberg; and that as the Republic made the tranquility of Europe depend upon a condition impoſſible to execute, it would be in vain to ſpend whole years negotiating in Holland; that they did not pretend to perſuade her to continue conferences which ſhe was reſolved to break off; that the king was really ſollicitous to procure peace for his people, but that it would be leſs diſagreeable, and leſs difficult to his faithful ſubjects, to continue the war againſt the ſame enemies, with whom his majeſty had been contending theſe ten years, than to increaſe their number by the addition of the king his grandſon; that even if paternal tenderneſs did not interfere, it would be contrary to all prudence raſhly to undertake the conqueſt of Spain and the Indies in two months, knowing for certain that at the expiration of this term, without effecting the ſaid conqueſt, his majeſty ſhould

ſhould ſtill find the ſame enemies in arms againſt him, and ſtrengthened further by the poſſeſſion of thoſe towns which he had delivered into their hands.

As it was neceſſary that the truth ſhould be known in Holland and in other foreign countries, the plenipotentiaries had orders, after writing this letter to the penſionary, to diſperſe copies of it in Amſterdam, and the other towns of the United Provinces; they were likewiſe to wait for the penſionary's anſwer, before they departed.

THEY received it very ſoon; it was dated the 23d of July, and referred to the letter of the States, incloſed in another which the deputies wrote by their order; both of the ſame date came to hand at the ſame time. The deputies only expreſſed in moderate terms their great concern for not having ſucceeded, *notwithſtanding all the pains and trouble they had taken.*

THE ſame day, the 23d of July, they publiſhed an act at the Hague, containing the reſolution of the States General in regard to the letter written by the plenipotentiaries to the penſionary Heinſius. The purport of this act was, that this letter having been communicated to the allied miniſters then reſiding at the Hague, purſuant to the plan hitherto obſerved, *it was their opinion, that ſince the ſaid plenipotentiaries do by their anſwers reject the propoſals*

that

that have been made to them, and declare it needleſs to confer any longer in regard to the ſaid propoſals; nothing further remains on the part of the High Allies, than to acquieſce to the ſaid rupture, and to diſcontinue the conferences, ſo long as the enemy ſhall continue in the ſame ſentiments, ſince according to the enemy's preſent way of thinking, the conferences cannot be productive of any good effect, and that inſtead of diſpoſing matters to peace and union, as it hath been the conſtant view of the Republic and her allies, they will only give occaſion to further animoſities.

By the ſame act Buys and Vanderduſſen *were required and authoriſed to give notice in writing, of the preſent reſolution, to the ſaid plenipotentiaries, but without entering into any diſcuſſion in regard to the letter written by the ſaid plenipotentiaries, though it might be very eaſy to refute it ſolidly, as well in reſpect to the matter it contains, as to its expreſſions.*

The diſcuſſion into which the miniſters of the Republic did not care to enter, appeared four days after in a printed extract of the reſolutions of the States General. This act was a kind of manifeſto, to juſtify the conduct of thoſe who traverſed the peace, and to perſuade the people, that a regard to the public welfare had been their ſole and directing principle at the conferences of Gertrudenberg.

The end of the memorial contained an anſwer to the complaints, which the plenipotentiaries

ries had made *of the extraordinary treatment, they had met with, even to the contempt of their character, of the falſe and ſcandalous libels, printed and diſperſed during their ſtay at Gertrudenberg, in order to irritate the minds of thoſe whom they were endeavouring to reconcile. They obſerved, yet without complaining, that contrary to public faith, and to what had been often declared, all their letters had been opened; that care had been taken to hinder any body from viſiting them in their confinement, for ſo it might be called, thro' fear of divulging thoſe truths, which the men who governed that commonwealth would have concealed; and yet that nobody could charge the king's plenipotentiaries with having made the leaſt infringement of the law of nations, which was violated in regard to them.*

The Dutch endeavoured to ſhew that theſe complaints were ill founded; but they would have prevented them had they conſented to the king's propoſal, which the plenipotentiaries often repeated, of holding the conferences at the Hague. This was the place where the ſeveral miniſters of the belligerant powers were aſſembled; this the centre where the moſt important affairs of Europe were tranſacted; conſequently this the place where all negotiations might be determined with greater expedition than in ſuch a town as Gertrudenberg, where the accommodations were very indifferent, and the diſtance from the Hague, occaſioned the deputies to ſpend a good deal of

time

time in coming to the conferences. It is to be ſuppoſed that the plenipotentiaries would have met with more civility at the Hague, than in a ſmall town inhabited chiefly by fiſhermen; that even for ſhame proper reſpect would have been ſhewn to their character, their rank, and their perſons; and that they would have only been diſſatisfied with the manner of negotiating, without having occaſion alſo to complain of perſonal treatment, as their predeceſſors in 1709 never complained, and indeed never had occaſion.

ALL hopes of peace being vaniſhed, Marſhal d'Huxelles and the abbé Polignac ſet out from Gertrudenberg the 24th of July, upon their return to France, without waiting for the expiration of the fifteen days which they were allowed to ſtay in Holland.

Neither the writings which were diſperſed, to juſtify the States General in the negotiation of peace and diſſolution of the conferences; nor the approbation of the allied powers, and eſpecially that of England, could prevail on the United Provinces unanimouſly to commend the reſolution of continuing the war. Beſides the weight of a burden almoſt unſupportable, the projects of Great Britain gave them umbrage. They began to be afraid that the Engliſh expected to take advantage of the exhauſted condition of Holland, in order to lord it over the Republic.

But

But the events of the campaign of 1710*, increaſed the clamour of the advocates of war, who were continually repeating that they ought to avail themſelves of this lucky opportunity for reducing the exorbitant power of France; that it was their joint intereſt to put it out of her power to alarm the reſt of Europe, or to invade their liberties; in a word, that the allies far from ſlackening ought to redouble their endeavours, and to enter into a cloſer alliance, for the deſtruction of an enemy ever formidable, if ſuffered to have time to breathe, and to recover his ſtrength.

THIS campaign they made themſelves maſters of the towns of Doway, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant.

THEIR progreſs was ſtill more conſiderable in Spain, where the count of Staremberg commanded the archduke's army. He obliged the king of Spain to raiſe the ſiege of Balanguer; he defeated the Spaniſh cavalry at Almenara, in the neighbourhood of Lerida; and the 20th of Au-

* This year in Spain the battle of Saragoſſa was won by count Starenberg; after this action ſo unlucky to king Philip, the archduke made a conſiderable progreſs: but the duke of Vendome revived the king of Spain's drooping ſpirits, for he purſued his enemies, and changed the ſituation of affairs. In Flanders the allies took Doway the 25th of June, Bethune the 26th of Auguſt, St. Venant the 29th of September, and Aire the 29th of November. The enemy's fleet made a deſcent upon Cette, but met with a repulſe.

guſt

guſt he obtained a victory near Saragoſſa, the fatal conſequences whereof gave room to believe that king Philip would not reign long in Spain.

He returned however to Madrid, but made no ſtay there, the enemy being in cloſe purſuit, which obliged him to ſet out for Navarre, to join the ſcattered remains of his army. The queen of Spain likewiſe quitted that capital, taking her only ſon the prince of Aſturias along with her.

The archduke meeting with no oppoſition, was proclaimed king of Spain at Madrid, as well as at Toledo.

Thus the Spaniſh war, which the Dutch imagined to be ſo difficult, which they and their allies refuſed to trouble themſelves with, and which they inſiſted nevertheleſs on ſeeing an end of in the ſpace of two months, was nearly finiſhed in a ſhorter term: this monarchy being at that time almoſt intirely in the hands of the enemy, the principal objection ſeemed removed, and no other difficulty to be to oppoſe the concluſion of the peace.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in France and Spain, and ſuch the proſperity of the allies, at the cloſe of the month of Auguſt 1710.

The END of the Second Part.

THE

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MEMOIRS

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY of the NEGOTIATIONS

FROM THE

Treaty of Ryſwic to the peace of Utrecht.

PART the THIRD.

Negotiations with England for a general peace, 1711.

THE diſſolution of the conferences of Gertrudenberg had baniſhed all appearance of peace. The ſucceſs of the enemy from the opening of the campaign, till the latter end of Auguſt, left no hopes of ſeeing an happy iſſue of a war, which France found ſo difficult to maintain. She had no way of treating but upon ſuch conditions, as it was not in her 1710.

power to fulfil. It was impoſſible to perſuade the king of Spain, to deſcend from the throne, on which God had placed him: it was no leſs ſo to dethrone him by force, in the ſpace of two months, even if France ſhould yield to this iniquitous condition. King Philip was not dejected by the unproſperous ſituation of his affairs: The queen of Spain ſhewed the ſame courage as her huſband, and though they had been both obliged to abandon their capital, yet rather than yield to adverſity, they reſolved to embark, and transfer their reſidence with the ſeat of the Spaniſh monarchy to the Weſt Indies.

Who could have foreſeen at that time that the proſperities of an alliance ſo formidable to France and Spain were at an end; that the Supreme being who fixes the boundaries of the the ocean, and calms, whenever he pleaſes, the impetuous fury of its waves, ſhould immediately ſtem the torrent of ſo many victories: that before two years were expired; thoſe victors, ſo proud, and ſo intoxicated with ſucceſs, ſhould be confounded in their devices, and reſtore the moſt important towns they had taken; that they ſhould no more inſiſt upon a ſecurity for the performance of a great prince's promiſe; that thoſe odious preliminaries, deviſed and ſupported by the enemies of peace and of all reconcilement, ſhould no longer be propoſed as a fundamental rule of treaty; that

that the very remembrance of them ſhould be aboliſhed; that it would be an indulgence ſhewn to the Dutch, to forget the inſolent ſpeeches which their deputies made at thoſe conferences, where they had all along chicaned, never expreſſing themſelves in clear terms, except it was to arm father againſt ſon; that in ſpite of the united efforts of the league, and of the advantages they had obtained, the deſcendant of St. Lewis, choſen by providence to reign over Spain, ſhould keep poſſeſſion of his throne, be acknowledged monarch and lawful ſovereign of Spain and the Indies, by a multitude of enemies, who reaped no other benefit from a bloody and tedious war than a heavy burden of debts contracted for the ſupport of their ambitious deſigns.

THESE revolutions, ſo unexpected, and ſo unlikely in the month of Auguſt 1710, were to be the handywork of God. The induſtry or vain policy of man could never flatter itſelf to be able to compaſs ſuch ſurpriſing revolutions; and whoſoever would have declared that ſuch things were to happen, would have been treated as a viſionary.

THE firſt lucky event in favour of France and Spain, was the victory which his Catholic majeſty, at the head of his army under the command of the duke of Vendome, obtained over the archduke's army commanded by count Starenberg, one of the Emperors beſt and moſt ce-

lebrated generals. This battle was fought in the province of Eſtremadura, near the town of Brihuega in the month of November 1710.

The archduke retired a little before to Catalonia, his army which wanted ſubſiſtance, and was not ſtrong enough to extend its quarters in thoſe parts of Spain, where it could have found proviſions. In vain did the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters at Liſbon, ſollicit the king of Portugal to ſend a reinforcement of 3000 foot and 1000 horſe to the archduke. They were refuſed, that prince being afraid himſelf, and thinking it expedient to keep his troops to defend his own frontiers. For the ſame reaſon he would not comply with thoſe miniſters, in marching the body of Portugueſe troops in the pay of thoſe two powers. Thus the allied army in want of proviſions, and not being numerous enough to make detachments, the neceſſity of ſubſiſtance, real, or pretended, obliged general Stanhope to ſhut himſelf up in Brihuega with the body of Britiſh troops under his command. There he was ſurrounded by the duke of Vendome the 8th of November, and forced the 10th of the ſame month to ſurrender priſoner of war, with eight batallions and the ſame number of Engliſh ſquadrons, at the very time that Starenberg was marching to his relief, and the day before the battle.

THE king of Spain's unexpected ſucceſs, was a ſtrong argument with his enemies, that it would not be ſo eaſy a matter to dethrone him, as they imagined. Of this they had ſtill a convincing proof, in the fidelity of the greateſt part of his ſubjects. Though his competitor had been proclaimed at Madrid, at Toledo, and in other open and defenceleſs towns, yet he was not the more agreeable to the Spaniſh nation. Thus the enemies of king Philip, found it every day a harder taſk, to diveſt him of his poſſeſſions. The war, which had laſted ſo many years, grew burdenſome, in proportion as the means of ſupporting it diminiſhed. One would have imagined that the neceſſity of concluding a peace, could not but prevail at length over the inveterate hatred of ſo many nations in conſpiracy againſt France. But the Divine providence did not deſign that Europe ſhould owe its peace to the conqueror's will. The Dutch had let ſlip the opportunity of contributing to its repoſe; and the honour was reſerved to the Engliſh.

THIS nation as violent as any other, and perhaps more than any other, in oppoſing the power of France, and perſuaded that it was her eſſential intereſt not to ſuffer a prince of the houſe of Bourbon to keep poſſeſſion of the leaſt part of the Spaniſh monarchy, was diſturbed by the diſputes of two parties, into which the ſtate had been ſometime divided, but more eſpecially ſince

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the revolution of 1688, upon the acceſſion of the prince of Orange to the crown of Great Britain.

One of theſe parties was that of Tories, the other of the Whigs. It would be of no uſe to inquire into the obſcure original of theſe terms. Sufficient it is to obſerve, that by the name of Tories were underſtood the zealous defenders of the church of England, in oppoſition not only to the Roman catholics, but to the different ſects tolerated in England, and included under the denomination of Non-conformiſts. They were alſo conſidered as the ſupporters of paſſive obedience to kings, and of arbitrary power.

On the contrary, the Whigs, whoſe religion, if they have any, is Preſbyterian, were inclined to a Republican government, and utter enemies of the unlimited authority of princes. They had had the principal ſhare in the late revolution; and the prince of Orange whom they had raiſed to the throne, entruſted them with the chief employments, ſo that the majority of the members of Parliament being Whigs, affairs were ſure to be under the direction of that party.

The Whigs had preſerved their ſuperiority ever ſince queen Anne's reign; and the duke of Marlborough, ſolicitous after his own aggrandizement, had deſerted the Tories to embrace the party of the Whigs.

Of this party was the earl of Goldolphin, lord treaſurer of England, whom the ties of intereſt,

eſt, and of marriage, had cloſely connected with Marlborough. One commanded the army with great reputation as a general; and the other had as high a character in the adminiſtration of the revenue. Thus they were a ſupport to each other, ſo that it was difficult to attack them with any hopes of ſucceſs. The only way the Tories could think of weakening their antagoniſts, was to deprive them of the confidence of the queen; when they had done that, to prevail on her majeſty, to diſſolve the Parliament, in which the Whigs had ſo great a majority, and to call a new one.

SOME high church preachers, among whom doctor Sacheverell had the lead, either ſtirred up by others, or of their own accord, gave the firſt blow, by their ſermons.

THESE men were charged, and particularly Sacheverel, who had preached before the queen at St. Paul's cathedral, with having attacked the late revolution and the act of toleration; with having inſinuated that the church of England had been in great danger under the precedent reign; in ſhort, that her majeſty's adminiſtration, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs, tended to ſubvert the conſtitution.

SACHEVEREL had ſaid, that there were falſe brethren among perſons in high character and employments in church and ſtate.

A few propoſitions relating to paſſive obedience, inflamed the minds of the Engliſh,

naturally averſe to ſubmiſſion. Sacheverel underwent a vigorous proſecution, and after long debates in parliament, in the queen's preſence, he was ſentenced to a ſuſpenſion for three years. The two ſermons which he preached upon that occaſion, were condemned to be burnt by the common hangman; and ſome other diſcourſes, written with the ſame ſpirit, and preached in the ſeveral counties, underwent the ſame fate in different parts of England.

THOUGH Sacheverel had attacked queen Anne's right to the crown, and her adminiſtration, yet ſhe was not ſo much offended at his ſermons, as at the violence of the Whigs, in condemning the oppoſite doctrine, which inculcates the obedience due from ſubjects to their ſovereign. She perceived the danger to which ſhe had been hitherto expoſed, in ſharing her authority with people ever attentive to weaken, and even to aboliſh the prerogative of kings. The enemies of the Whigs took advantage of this diſpoſition of her majeſty. She prorogued the parliament and ſoon after made conſiderable alterations in the great offices of ſtate.

THE earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate, ſon in law to Marlborough, and ſon to that Sunderland, who in the ſame employment had baſely abuſed the confidence of king James, and betrayed his maſter, was diſcarded, and his place given to the earl of Dartmouth, whoſe father had the command of that unhappy prince's fleet

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at the time of the revolt, but did not prove more faithful to him than his miniſter. Sunderland's friends took care to have it ſpread, that he had thrown up his employments of his own accord, foreſeeing the precipice into which the counſels of deſigning men were going to plunge the queen his miſtreſs.

THE directors of the bank, who were either Whigs, or excited by that powerful party, repreſented to her majeſty that the change of miniſtry would affect the public credit, a thing ſo neceſſary in the preſent juncture. Some corporations were worked upon to addreſs the queen to the ſame purpoſe.

THE alarm was not leſs violent, tho' perhaps more general and more ſincere in Holland, where the conferences ſtill continued at Gertrudenberg.

IN order to quiet the minds of the public, the queen in the firſt place declared in England, and afterwards charged her ambaſſador Townshend to declare in Holland, that ſhe would make no farther change in her council. To theſe aſſurances he had orders to add, that nothing ſhould be capable of altering the confidence ſhe repoſed in the fidelity and abilities of the duke of Marlborough.

THE conferences of peace were broke off the latter end of June, and the 19th of Auguſt 1710. Godolphin was deprived of his office of lord treaſurer. The queen appointed five lords commiſſio-

miſſioners; the firſt was the earl Pawlet, the other four were Harley, Manſel, Paget, and Benſon; but as they were of Harley's chuſing, who was very ſure that none of them would contradict him, he might from that very time be deemed lord high treaſurer. He was a man of parts, who was thoroughly acquainted with the intereſts of his country, and with the genius of the people, was converſant in the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and practiſed in the ſeveral artifices and intrigues by which the parliaments are managed. He had been ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and retained a vehement deſire of being revenged of Marlborough, who had been the cauſe of his being diſmiſſed from his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate. He was ſlave to no party. Sometimes Whig, and ſometimes Tory, he preferred whatever way was the eaſieſt to make his fortune. He imagined he ſhould find the right road, when he could ſteal himſelf into the good graces of the queen.

Her majeſty at that time had a particular confidence in one of her attendants, whoſe name was Mrs. Hill; ſhe was a relation of the dutcheſs of Marlborough, who firſt introduced her to court. Mrs. Hill knew how to pleaſe her miſtreſs, and finding herſelf beloved, ſhe profited of the imprudence of her benefactreſs, who by her inſolent airs, her pride, her diſreſpect, and ingratitude towards the queen,

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loſt that favour of which ſhe had been ſo long in poſſeſſion. The ducheſs of Marlborough was diſgraced; her relation Mrs. Hill, inſtead of endeavouring to appeaſe the queen, applauded her juſt indignation, and directed by her friend Harley, ſhe ſet her miſtreſs againſt the huſband, as well as the wife. Mrs. Hill had beſides a private reaſon to be angry with the duke of Marlborough. She had a brother in the army, who was ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Almanza; his ſiſter begged of the queen to give him the regiment, which had belonged to the late earl of Eſſex. The queen was inclined to grant her demand, but found herſelf obliged to yield to the obſtinate oppoſition of the duke of Marlborough; and to complete the matter, Sunderland at that time ſecretary of ſtate, left no ſtone unturned to prevail on the houſe of commons to addreſs her majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to diſcharge that woman from about her perſon, then married to Mr. Maſham.

HARLEY had availed himſelf of theſe favourable circumſtances to exaſperate the queen, and by means of this favourite to deſtroy thoſe who were the object of his reſentment. He bewailed with Mrs. Maſham the fate of that princeſs. Such ingratitude, ſaid he, her majeſty had no reaſon to expect from people, whom ſhe had raiſed to the higheſt pitch of honours and preferments; nor could the beſt of ſovereigns believe that

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theſe ungrateful wretches, far from acknowledging her favours, ſhould employ againſt her that very authority, with which ſhe, had inveſted them. One ſingle family ſaid he, ſeems to domineer over England; they not only diſpoſe of all offices and employments, but even of the public funds. One man only is maſter of the army, of the fleet, and of the revenue, while the people groan under ſuch a load of taxes, to maintain the troops and navy. The true patriots lament the fate of a queen whoſe perſonal qualities deſerve not only their reſpect, but their intire affection, which ſhe would certainly poſſeſs, if more jealous of her authority, ſhe ceaſed to lodge ſo great a part of it in the hands of a ſubject, ſucceſsful indeed in war, but more attentive to accumulate wealth by all ſorts of means, than ſolicitous about the real welfare of the ſtate.

For after all it did not as yet appear, what advantage England derived from thoſe victories of the duke of Marlborough, which were ſounded ſo high. Her trade was declining daily, her finances exhauſted, the public debts increaſing, ſo that very ſoon the people would not be able to pay the taxes. Yet they were as far as ever from ſeeing an end of this war, ſo unprofitable to the kingdom, ſo burdenſome to the public, and uſeful only to the general, who had it in his power to continue it, while he had any expectation of enriching himſelf, and while his credit

credit was ſupported in England by a powerful party, whoſe chief aim was to cramp the authority of their kings.

MRS. Maſham gave an account of this converſation to the queen, who reliſhed the ſentiments ſo well, that Harley was privately introduced to her majeſty. She had a good opinion of his capacity. He ſoon acquired her confidence in thoſe private conferences; and perſuaded her, that he was a loyal ſubject, and ſpoke only the truth, as bound in duty to his ſovereign; that it was of extreme importance to her majeſty to be informed, that the bulk of her free ſubjects, could not without indignation ſee ſuch exorbitant power in the hands of two men, Marlborough, and Godolphin, the high treaſurer; that thoſe two families were amaſſing immenſe wealth, while the kingdom groaned under the exceſſive weight of taxes.

HARLEY is ſaid to have told the queen, that doctor Sacheverel's ſermons were the contrivance of the Tories; that they had a double motive in ſetting him on this work, one to induce the Whigs to make a public declaration of their ſentiments, ſo oppoſite to royal authority; the other to oblige Godolphin to give an account of his adminiſtration. This was the cauſe of Sacheverel's treating of paſſive obedience and, and of male adminiſtration in thoſe ſermons.

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THE queen had been preſent at the debates, which thoſe diſcourſes occaſioned in the houſe of lords. She had heard the violent declamations of the Whigs againſt the royal prerogative. Harley could add nothing ſtronger to render them obnoxious to her majeſty; the bare reminding her of thoſe ſpeeches was ſufficient.

As for that part of the ſermon which related to the adminiſtration in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs, Harley aſſured the queen, that the Tories never had any thoughts of attacking her majeſty, but only the management of the revenue under lord Godolphin; that it had been moved in the houſe of commons to call him to an account; but the ſuperior intereſt of the Whigs had prevented the inquiry. Yet Godolphin had been frightened to ſuch a degree, that he imagined the only way to avert the danger, was to direct the attention of the parliament to ſome other object. The ſermons of doctor Sacheverel and ſome others afforded a very good opportunity of employing both houſes in the manner Godolphin propoſed. Hence, ſaid Harley, ſuch noiſe, and parade, to condemn an ignorant parſon, and to ſuppreſs thoſe ſorry diſcourſes, which would have been forgot the very moment after they had been delivered, if they had not attacked the adminiſtration of the revenue. But Godolphin with all his abilities, and with all his prudence, loſt himſelf in the very courſe he had taken to avoid being ſhipwrecked;

wrecked; his artifice turned to a bad account, for by the ſolemnity of Sacheverel's trial, the queen, who had a great ſhare of good ſenſe, happened to hear the Whigs maintain their pernicious maxims with great vehemence, and declare themſelves in her preſence enemies to her authority.

THUS her majeſty was witneſs and judge at the ſame time of the truth of what Harley told her. She could not ſuſpect them to be ſcandalous lies, invented merely for the ſake of revenge; ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of changing her miniſters, of wreſting out of the hands of the Whigs that authority which her too great indulgence had ſuffered them to uſurp, of making uſe of Harley's counſels in the ſeveral changes, which the good of the ſtate, and the preſervation of her power and dignity had rendered neceſſary.

IN purſuance of theſe counſels, in the month of Auguſt, the queen took the ſtaff of high treaſurer of England from lord Godolphin, and appointed five lords commiſſioners of the treaſury.

THE diſgrace of Sommers, preſident of the council, followed that of the high treaſurer. The earl of Rocheſter, the queen's uncle, had Sommers's place.

BOYLE ſecretary of ſtate, and Sunderland's collegue, prevented the diſgrace that threatened him, by a voluntary reſignation of his office;

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it was given to St. John ſecretary at war, whoſe fine genius, lively wit, and acquired improvements, rendered him capable of filling the higheſt employments. He was not known to have any connexion with Harley, but ſeemed rather to be of Marlborough's party; however without having any dependance on that man, who was lord Paramount of England, St. John depended only on the queen his miſtreſs, his principal view being the glory and intereſt of her majeſty.

THE duke of Devonſhire loſt his place of lord Steward of the houſhold, which was given to the duke of Buckingham.

THE earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the earl of Orford, firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, formerly known by the name of admiral Ruſſel, threw up their commiſſions. At length a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and a new one to meet, as alſo for electing the ſixteen peers of Scotland.

SUCH violent attacks all at once againſt the Whigs, were felt in Holland with the ſame ſenſibility as in England. People made no ſort of doubt at the Hague, but that the queen in changing her council would alſo change her meaſures. In vain did her ambaſſador aſſure the States, that in chuſing new miniſters, ſhe ſtill preſerved the ſame ſentiments in favour of the common cauſe, and the ſame confidence in the duke

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of Marlborough. Neither Townshend's ſpeeches, nor the queen's letters to the States General, could diſpel the uneaſineſs and apprehenſions of the allies. The Dutch miniſtry, who had loſt ſo many opportunities, by which their republic might have obtained the honour of giving peace to Europe, were now grown apprehenſive of the reproaches which their conduct deſerved; and therefore they declared, that France was miſtaken, if ſhe flattered herſelf with reaping any advantage from the change of adminiſtration in England. They ſpread a report that the new miniſtry would be even more ſteady than the former, in regard to the advantages to be obtained for their allies. The promiſe which the queen had given, to ſend the duke of Marlborough immediately back to Holland, was mentioned as a proof of the ſincerity of her majeſty's intentions.

To continue that general in the command of the army, was a point of dangerous conſequence; but it was difficult to diſmiſs him; his reputation was too well eſtabliſhed, and he had not been charged as yet with any capital fault. No other general in England poſſeſſed the ſame abilities, nor would have been ſo much truſted by the allies.

THE new miniſters limited his authority; this was an inſtance of their ill will towards the general, which convinced him that

he was feared, and at the ſame time that they could not do without him. He was provoked at the treatment ſhewn to his wife, to his relations, and friends, and at ſeeing his enemies choſen to fill up their places. He was further provoked by their abridging him of part of that power which he had exerciſed the precedent years; but he ſtill had enough to be revenged. The only way to reduce him to the rank of a private ſubject, was to conclude a peace. The Whigs violently oppoſed this meaſure. One would have imagined that the Dutch had taken the negotiations into their hands, only with a view to defeat them; and that the Engliſh had precluded themſelves from all method of treating. Some ſafe way therefore was to be found, whereby the king ſhould be ſecretly informed of the ſtate of England, of the diſpoſition of the queen and council; and this way was to be ſo private, that nobody ſhould be able to diſcover, or even in the leaſt to ſuſpect it.

DURING marſhal Tallard's embaſſy to king William, one Gaultier, a prieſt, ſon of a merchant ſettled at St. Germains, went over to England, where he read maſs in the embaſſador's chapel. In a little while he inſinuated himſelf into the family of the earl of Jerſey, who had been ambaſſador at France after the peace of Ryſwic, and whoſe lady was a Roman catholic. Here he got acquainted with Prior, formerly ſecre-

ſecretary of the embaſſy to Jerſey, and before that to lord Portland.

GAULTIER got an inſight into the affairs of England; ſo that when marſhal Tallard was obliged by the rupture between the two nations, to return to France, he thought this eccleſiaſtic capable of giving the king any occaſional intelligence, that might be of ſervice to his majeſty. He deſired him to continue to reſide in London as long as they would permit him, to obſerve carefully every thing that happened, to tranſmit an account thereof to the miniſter in the department of foreign affairs in France, but to do it with proper diſcretion, for fear of being taken up as a ſpy; therefore to write but ſeldom, and in ſuch a manner as not to draw upon himſelf an order for quitting the kingdom, or perhaps ſeverer treatment.

THE inſtructions given by marſhal Tallard were punctually followed. Gaultier wrote but ſeldom, and gave no intelligence of any conſequence during the whole courſe of the war. Thus his ſtay in London created no ſuſpicion; he had full liberty to continue there; and when the French ambaſſador's chapel was ſhut up, he went to read Maſs at the chapel belonging to count Galas, ambaſſador from the archduke, whom the Engliſh acknowledged as king of Spain.

THE earl of Jerſey, being connected with the new miniſtry, propoſed Gaultier, as a man they could depend upon, and at the ſame time obſcure enough for their purpoſe, to ſend to France. The propoſal was agreed to, and Jerſey was appointed to give verbal inſtructions to Gaultier, but nothing in writing.

THESE inſtructions conſiſted in letting the king know, "that the new miniſters, whom "the queen of Great Britain had entruſted with "the direction of her affairs, were deſirous of "peace, and thought it neceſſary for the wel-"fare of England; that it was not in their "power to ſet a private negotiation on foot "with France, being obliged, for their own ſa-"fety, to uſe great circumſpection; that the "king muſt therefore again propoſe to the "Dutch, to renew the conferences for a gene-"ral peace; that as ſoon as they were open-"ed, the ambaſſadors from England, ſhould "have ſuch particular orders, that it would be "no longer in the power of the Dutch to hin-"der a peace from being concluded."

1711. THE abbé Gaultier arrived at Nieuport the 15th of January; as ſoon as he landed he wrote to the ſecretary of ſtate concerning the motive of his journey, letting him know that he had been accommodated by the governor of the town, with every thing neceſſary for his ſafe and ſpeedy conveyance to Paris. He mention-

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ed that he ſhould alight at an houſe belonging to the fathers of the oratory in the *rue St. Honorè*, there he ſhould wait for further orders, and that he ſhould tell the ſuperior of the houſe, his name was Delorme.

GAULTIER arrived almoſt as ſoon as his letter. He went that evening to Verſailles, and waited on the miniſter, who knew him no otherways than by a very ſlender correſpondence. "Do you chuſe peace? ſaid he. I am come to "enable you to conclude it independently of "the Dutch, a people unworthy of the king's "favour, and of the honour he has ſo often "done them, of applying to them, for the pa-"cification of Europe."

To aſk his majeſty's miniſter at that time, whether he chuſed to have peace, was the ſame thing as to aſk a perſon lingering under a dangerous malady, whether he chuſed to recover. Yet as there are multitudes of quacks of all ſorts, it was prudent not to be over ſanguine, but to know the purpoſe of the abbé Gaultier's miſſion, and by what means he intended to ſucceed.

HE gave an account of the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh government, and of the manner of his being ſent upon this errand. With regard to the means of ſetting a negotiation on foot, and of conducting it to a happy concluſion, "Give me, ſaid he, a letter for

" my lord Jerſey; let the contents be no " more than this, that you are glad to hear of " his being in good health, that you have " charged me to thank him for his kind re- " membrance, and to make your compliments " to him."

This letter will be my inſtructions, to hear what propoſals they will make. I'll go back to London, and let you ſee thoſe propoſals before it be long.

Tho' peace was ſo neceſſary, and ſo greatly deſired, yet there was very little probability of it at this time. The negotiations in Holland had hitherto only contributed to render the enemy more averſe from treating, more inſolent, and more obſtinately bent upon continuing the war.

Of all the powers in alliance againſt France, England had been hitherto the moſt active. The new miniſters of that crown, ſpoke quite a different language from their predeceſſors; and there was the leſs reaſon for ſuſpecting any advances they might make, as they were perſonally intereſted in putting an end to the war, by which the reputation of their enemies was ſupported.

They deſired no ſort of engagement of the king. Gaultier had orders to be ſatisfied with a bare letter of compliment. This was enough to ſhew that the general propoſal was reliſhed; and indeed it could not be otherwiſe

at a juncture when the Dutch boaſted that the king would ſoon offer more advantageous conditions to the allies, than thoſe which they had rejected. They amuſed the people with deceitful hopes, to render them inſenſible to their miſeries, and to leſſen the weight of a burdenſome war, the end of which no one could tell.

BUT peace was not to be the work of human policy; God had reſerved to himſelf the manner and time of reſtoring it to afflicted Europe. He permitted the wiſeſt members of the council, who were nettled at the vain boaſtings of the Dutch, to give their opinion for ſending Gaultier back to England, without taking notice of thoſe few propoſals. They ſaid, it would be contrary to the king's dignity, to court the Dutch any more, or to propoſe new conferences, after ſuch baſe behaviour, eſpecially at the late negotiations of Gertrudenberg; and that it would only confirm the reports they had induſtriouſly ſpread, that France unable to make another campaign, muſt yield at length to whatever conditions the allies ſhould pleaſe to preſcribe.

THESE were wiſe reflexions; but there was a greater neceſſity for peace at this juncture, than when the king conſented to far greater ſacrifices. His majeſty would have given a great deal to ſeparate England from her allies; a conſiderable preſent to Marlborough would have

been well employed; and now the wiſhed for opportunity came of itſelf, without any expence to the king or kingdom. The Engliſh made advances, and without deſiring the leaſt engagement from his majeſty, were ſatisfied with a bare letter of compliment from one of his miniſters. Torcy greatly concerned at the oppoſition of the council, who were unwilling that the king ſhould give any advantage to the Dutch, by deſiring to renew the conferences in Holland; propoſed as an expedient for reconciling their opinion to his own, to anſwer Gaultier, and to deſire he would tell the queen of Great Britain's miniſters, that his majeſty juſtly incenſed at the conduct of the States General, would not hear any further mention of peace by the way of Holland, but that he ſhould be glad to treat by the interpoſition of England.

With regard to the letter of compliment, deſired by the earl of Jerſey, it was neceſſary for ſetting a negotiation on foot; and as it implied no engagement, there ſeemed to be no inconveniency in writing, but a great deal in refuſing.

The king approved of this opinion, commanded Torcy to write the letter, and to deliver it to the abbé.

Gaultier ſet out upon his return, and a few days after he had got to London, he wrote back that,

that, ſince the king had ſuch juſt motives for not renewing the negotiations with Holland, nor by that channel, the miniſters of Great Britain deſired his majeſty would pleaſe to communicate his propoſals for a general peace to them, which they would ſend over to Holland, their deſign being to commence a negotiation, in concert with their allies: but they hoped his majeſty's offers by the interpoſition of England, would not be leſs advantageous than thoſe which he had lately made at the conferences of Gertrudenberg, and that for the honour of their nation, he would not propoſe worſe conditions than the former.

THE ſituation of affairs in Spain was quite changed, ſince the victory, which king Philip had obtained over the archduke. The Spaniards were perſuaded that their own troops were ſufficient to defend the kingdom. It would have been therefore of no uſe for the king to promiſe to put the archduke in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh dominions; it was now impoſſible to execute ſuch a promiſe. The anſwer on the part of his majeſty was no more than this, that diſcouraged from applying to the Dutch, he propoſed to the queen of Great Britain to agree to a congreſs of miniſters from all the belligerant powers, and to open the conferences before the campaign, in order to ſettle the articles of a general and definitive peace.

GAUL-

GAULTIER returned a few days after to Verſailles; the report he made was, that the king's propoſal had appeared too general. He was deſired to inſiſt on conditions, more particular, and drawn up in ſuch form, that the Engliſh miniſters might ſend them over to Holland, as a proper baſis of the treaty of general peace. Some circumſtances mentioned by Gaultier, would have been ſufficient to remove any ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of his employers, if even their own perſonal intereſt had not confirmed it.

THE king cauſed ſuch a memorial * to be drawn up, as the Engliſh miniſtry deſired. The abbé Gaultier, being commiſſioned to carry it to London, ſet out upon his return the 28th of April.

THE Engliſh miniſtry ſatisfied with the propoſals, ſent the memorial immediately over to Holland. As they had hopes that Great Britain would find her private account in the peace, and be recompenced for the pains ſhe ſhould take to procure it, they charged Gaultier to inquire what real ſecurity the king would give the nation, in conformity to his promiſe, that ſhe ſhould have a free trade to Spain, to the Indies, and to the Mediterranean. Their intent was to ob-

* This memorial is the firſt piece in the report of the ſecret committee.

tain

tain ſome cautionary towns in the Weſt Indies, with Gibraltar or Corunna on the continent of Spain, and Port Mahon in the Mediterranean. Gaultier eager to ſucceed in ſo important a negotiation, backed the Engliſh in their demands; and in order to gain his point, he gave aſſurances that the king would have reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Engliſh during the courſe of the negotiation, eſpecially when they came to regulate the barrier in the Netherlands.

His majeſty had acquainted the king of Spain with the firſt overtures from England. He wanted to know that prince's ſentiments in regard to the cautionary towns, which the Engliſh demanded for the protection of their commerce. The duke of Vendome whom he ordered to aſk the queſtion, aſſured him that, if it was neceſſary, his Catholic majeſty would, for the ſake of peace, yield Gibraltar and Port Mahon to the Engliſh.

The king conſulting the intereſt of his grandſon, reſerved the ceſſion of Port Mahon, and gave the abbé Gaultier leave to aſſure the miniſters of Great Britain, that Gibraltar ſhould be ceded to that crown.

The Engliſh had explained themſelves as yet but in general terms in regard to the commerce of America; therefore his majeſty had not thought proper to inform himſelf concerning the king of Spain's ſentiments upon

on an article, of a moſt delicate nature, and in which the Spaniſh nation were ſo nearly concerned. Gaultier had orders to declare, that the king of Spain was diſpoſed to favour the Engliſh, if they would contribute to the reſtoration of the public repoſe; that his majeſty would uſe his endeavours to induce that prince, to give particular inſtructions concerning the American trade, to his miniſters at the conferences of peace, and that the Engliſh would have reaſon to be ſatisfied with thoſe inſtructions.

WHILE the court of London waited for the anſwer from the States General, to the memorial containing the king's propoſals of peace, a report was ſpread, that the Dutch were practiſing ſecret artifices in France to renew the conferences of peace, and to diſappoint England of the honour and advantage of the negotiation, which her miniſters had ſet on foot. It was not long ſince thoſe very miniſters had demanded, as a preparatory ſtep to the negotiations, that the king ſhould propoſe to renew the conferences with the States General; but being now convinced that it was not the intereſt of England, to let the termination or continuance of the war depend on any other power, they beſeeched his majeſty, in caſe the Dutch had really made any advances, to anſwer plainly, that he would liſten to nothing they ſhould ſay, after having experienced the extravagance of their demands, and patiently

tiently bore with the baſe treatment which they had ſhewn to his miniſters; that it was no longer worth while to reſume thoſe conferences with the Republic; that his majeſty being under an engagement with England, would faithfully obſerve his promiſe, to treat of a general peace in concert with that crown.

THE inquietude of the Britiſh miniſters was not without grounds, for at the ſame time that the abbé Gaultier took notice of it to the king, Pettekum, the penſionary's tool, wrote word that if his majeſty would reſume the negotiations of peace in concert with the queen of Great Britain, he ſhould certainly have reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Dutch.

THUS by a happy revolution, the two powers hitherto the moſt oppoſite to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquility, ſtood in competition for this great work, envying each other the honour of contributing to its happy iſſue.

THE king anſwered Pettekum's propoſal, juſt as Gaultier had deſired.

AT length the queen received an anſwer from the States General. It contained, "that "they ſhould be infinitely pleaſed to contri- "bute to the concluſion of a general, defini- "tive, and durable peace; that for this end "the Republic was ready to join the queen of "Great Britain: but the propoſals from France "being too general, it could be wiſhed the "king

" king would pleaſe to explain himſelf more " particularly, and to communicate the plan " which he judged propereſt for ſecuring the " intereſt of the allied powers, and for ſettling " the repoſe of Europe, after which they might " enter upon the treaty.

In the mean while the negotiations began to ſlacken in England. The attention of the chief members of the new miniſtry was at that time intirely taken up with views of private ambition.

Harley wanted to be a peer and lord treaſurer: he was in high favour with the queen; yet he had potent enemies to ſtruggle with. The negotiations of peace, a buſineſs of leſs importance, were at a ſtand, till he obtained his deſire, the ſtaff of lord treaſurer, and the title of earl of Oxford.

This new dignity was a further motive for his endeavouring to accelerate the peace. The ſtate of the revenue would not permit a longer continuance of the war; money being grown very ſcarce. His enemies, the Whigs, being intereſted in running it down, might carry their point more eaſily, as the funds were in their hands. Another article on which the treaſurer's ſecurity depended, was that the peace ſhould be honourable to England; otherwiſe the old meaſures would be regretted and cried up to the ſkies; while the preſent miniſters would

would be abuſed, and at the ſame time expoſed to the fury of the populace.

THE duke of Shrewsbury and the earl of Jerſey were connected for the ſame reaſons with the high treaſurer; as they had the ſame intereſt as he to haſten the negotiation, they adviſed the queen not only to ſend the abbé Gaultier, back to France, but to join with him one of her own ſubjects, a man of ſenſe and tried fidelity. They propoſed Prior, who was already known in France, where he had lived ſome years, as ſecretary of the embaſſy to the earls of Portland and Jerſey. Prior having been perſecuted by the Whigs, was attached to the party then uppermoſt, and particularly to the lord treaſurer. He had acquired a reputation in England by his poems; but his chief merit, in the preſent conjuncture, was a ſincere deſire of peace. Yet they furniſhed him with very ſcanty means of bringing it about; his powers were ſo limited, that his abilities and his good will were equally uſeleſs. He was only to communicate the demands of the Engliſh, which were ſtiled preliminary articles, purſuant to the method introduced by the Dutch and their allies, of giving, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, the ſimple title of preliminaries to eſſential articles of treaties. When he had done this, he was to hear what the court of France had to ſay, and return with their anſwer to London: but, before he entered upon buſineſs, he

was

was deſired to inquire and to know poſitively, whether the king of Spain conſented to treat, and had tranſmitted a power for that purpoſe to his grand-father.

PRIOR arrived incognito at Fontainebleau, where he punctually executed the queen's orders. Aſſurances were given him, that his majeſty had received the king of Spain's power; upon which he communicated the pretenſions of England, deſiring a clear and determinate anſwer before he would enter upon any negotiation.

THE memorial containing theſe pretenſions was divided into two parts: the former related to the intereſts of the allies of Great Britain; the latter to the advantages which the Engliſh pretended to obtain for themſelves.

IN favour of their allies, they demanded the eſtabliſhment of a barrier in the Netherlands, ſo greatly deſired by the Dutch, and ſo neceſſary for removing their fears and inquietudes.

A ſecurity for the commerce of that nation.

ON the ſide of the Rhine, a barrier for the Empire.

THAT the pretenſions of all the allies, in conſequence and in execution of treaties, ſhould be ſettled and terminated to their general ſatisfaction.

THAT the ſtrong places taken from the duke of Savoy, ſhould be reſtored; further, that he ſhould take poſſeſſion of the ſeveral towns

towns or diſtricts in Italy, that had been ceded to him in virtue of any promiſe contained in the treaties between him and his allies.

THE particular demands for England, conſiſted in acknowledging not only queen Anne, but the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, as ſettled by act of parliament.

THE demolition of the fortifications and outworks of Dunkirk, and the filling up of the harbour.

A new treaty of commerce, and that the king of Spain ſhould conſent to yield Gibraltar and Portmahon to the crown of England.

FURTHER, the Negro trade in America, at that time carried on by a French company. The Engliſh likewiſe inſiſted on ſome towns in America, for refreſhing the Negro ſlaves whom they ſhould carry to that part of the world.

THEY demanded alſo a ſecurity of being treated as favourably in Spain as any other nation, and that the advantages already granted, or to be granted hereafter to the moſt favoured nation, ſhould be extended to the Engliſh.

THAT France ſhould put them in poſſeſſion of the iſle of Newfoundland, of Hudſon's Bay and ſtraits, either by way of reſtitution or ceſſion.

IN regard to whatever territories either England or France might be poſſeſſed of in North America, at the ratification of the treaties, both nations ſhould continue to enjoy them.

THESE demands were by particular deſire. to be kept ſecret, and not to be revealed without the mutual conſent of the contracting parties.

THEY were preceded by three other conditions ſpecified as eſſential to the peace.

A ſecurity that the crowns of France and Spain, ſhould never be united on the ſame head.

THAT ſatisfaction ſhould be given to all the allies; and commerce re-eſtabliſhed and maintained.

THE Engliſh would have ruined the trade of France, and of all the other nations in Europe, had they obtained the advantages which they pretended to. Yet the negotiation would have been in danger of breaking off in its infancy, had a flat denial been given to thoſe demands, tho' their pernicious conſequences were but too evident. It was therefore adviſeable to deſcend to a particular diſcuſſion of the greateſt part of thoſe pretenſions. Negotiation oftentimes diſpels a cloud of difficulties, when both parties are equally deſirous of coming to an agreement. Prior's intentions were very good; but his powers went no farther than to hear what anſwer the king would make to his propoſals. He ſaid moreover, that his majeſty would have reaſon to be ſatisfied with England in the courſe of the negotiation, and on this he might depend; that the queen, his miſtreſs,

miſtreſs, was likewiſe perſuaded, that the ſervice ſhe ſhould do to the Royal line of France, in maintaining king Philip on the throne of Spain, deſerved particular marks of gratitude to herſelf and to Great Britain.

As there might be room to doubt of Prior's ſincerity, when he excuſed his being tied down by the ſecret commiſſion, which he received upon ſetting out from London, he thought himſelf obliged to ſhew it to the ſecretary of ſtate: it contained theſe words,

" Mr. Prior is fully inſtructed and empower-
" ed to communicate our preliminary demands
" to the court of France, and to bring us back
" their anſwer."

THESE few lines were ſigned in the queen of Great Britain's own hand.

A. R.

THE queen had then given up thoſe odious preliminaries; thoſe pretenſions of forcing a king to abdicate his throne, and purely and ſimply to reſign it to his competitor; in a word thoſe barbarous notions of arming the grand father againſt his grandſon. God who governs the hearts of kings, and determines the fate of empires, had put an end to the calamities of the king of Spain, and ſoftened the heart of the queen of Great Britain; but this princeſs inſiſted on exorbitant advantages for her ſubjects in return for this favour.

THE ceſſion of Gibraltar and Portmahon, as a ſecurity for their commerce to Spain and the Mediterranean, did not appear a ſufficient recompence for her endeavours to procure a peace. She wanted four other cautionary towns in the Weſt Indies, under the ſame pretence of ſecuring the commerce, which England laid claim to in America.

PRIOR was very ſenſible of the ſhocking nature of ſuch a propoſal. He endeavoured therefore to perſuade the French miniſters, that the queen was very far from having any thoughts of ruining the trade of other nations to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies; that all ſhe intended, was only to obtain a few ſettlements, but no fortified towns, in that part of the world; that ſhe would be content if the king of Spain would conſent to let her ſubjects have two ſuch places in the North, and two in the South. This conceſſion, ſaid Prior, inſtead of hurting France, will be rather a favourable precedent for her to obtain the like eſtabliſhments. It will coſt his catholic majeſty very little to grant them to both nations, in the vaſt extent of territories ſubject to the Spaniſh monarchy from California to the ſtraits of Magellan. In ſhort, England has contracted immenſe debts to carry on the war, ſhe is ready to ſink under the burden, and ſhe muſt find ſome way to lighten it. There is no other reſource, but the advantages, which ſhe expects to derive from her American

commerce. The king of Spain ought to conſider, what the queen of Great Britain makes the nation loſe, by eſpouſing his cauſe. Her majeſty had been promiſed theſe conditions by the archduke; who had moreover engaged by ſecret treaties, to permit the Engliſh to enter all the ports of Spain and America, with the ſame liberty and privilege as the Caſtilians themſelves. He was likewiſe to exempt them from paying the duties of St. Lucar, of Cadiz, and Seville. "Is it not juſt, continued Prior, to indemnify "our merchants for the loſs they are to ſuſtain, "if the queen renounces thoſe engagements?"

It is eaſy to make promiſes to allies, of whom great ſuccours are expected, that they ſhall ſhare the profits owing to their aſſiſtance. Promiſes at Spain's expence coſt the archduke nothing; but it might be truly ſaid, that it was the bear's ſkin. King Philip's affairs were growing better every day, and he had acquired a ſure footing on the throne. On the contrary the Auſtrian intereſts declined apace; the allies uneaſy under the burden of the Spaniſh war, diſputed among themſelves concerning the proportion of their quotas, till they grew indifferent about him; and this diſpoſition of theirs ſeemed to increaſe ſince the death of the Emperor Joſeph. It was now near three months ſince that prince died of the ſmall pox at Vienna 1711. the 17th of April. He left no other iſſue but two daughters; ſo that the archduke was

ſole heir to the Auſtrian dominions. How zealous ſoever the allies might have been in his cauſe, and how inveterate ſoever their hatred againſt France, ſtill it was natural for them, to alter their ſentiments, when they came to reflect on the exorbitant power to which that prince would be raiſed, by placeing the Imperial diadem, with the crown of Spain, the Indies, the kingdoms of Naples, and Sicily on the ſame head; and uniting under one power, ſo many other extenſive territories, hitherto divided between the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria. The apprehenſion of ſeeing the crowns of France and Spain ſometime or other under the obedience of the ſame ſovereign, gave riſe to the grand alliance. Such a number of princes, who had entered into a confederacy under the ſpecious pretence of oppoſing the general danger with which their liberties ſeemed to be threatened, had not leſs reaſon to fear the exorbitant power of the ſole heir of the houſe of Auſtria.

THUS England conſulted her own intereſt, as well as that of Europe, in contributing to a good peace, which was to ſettle king Philip on the throne of Spain. The queen would be no loſer in renouncing thoſe empty promiſes, which the archduke could never have had it in his power to fulfil. The only ſolid engagements were thoſe of king Philip, who at that time had ſufficient

ent force to maintain himſelf on the throne of Spain and the Indies, to which he had been raiſed, and on which he had been preſerved by the divine providence. In a word, were it not for fear of diſobliging that princeſs, whoſe diſpoſition to peace could not be too highly commended, ſhe might have been told, that her majeſty had no reaſon to boaſt of the ſervice ſhe was doing to king Philip, ſince at that time he had ſufficient power to defend his dominions againſt any attack of his enemies: however, this grateful prince was willing to make a return to the pacific ſentiments of the queen of Great Britain, and in conſideration of the principal ſhare ſhe took in the peace, to treat her ſubjects more favourably than any other nation; but that he ſhould be glad this was a ſolid peace, which would not be the caſe, if the Engliſh obtained ſuch conſiderable advantages, as muſt abſolutely ruin all commerce but their own.

PRIOR made no reply, only that he had orders to demand an anſwer to his propoſals, and to carry it with him to England; that his powers did not permit him to look out for expedients, nor to treat of matters of ſuch weighty importance.

HE inſiſted therefore on a poſitive anſwer in writing, containing, either a conſent, or a downright refuſal to thoſe demands.

It would have been equally dangerous to have granted either. A conſent would have ruined the French trade, as well as that of other nations; and in all likelihood the king of Spain would have judged, that it was inconſiſtent with the good of his ſubjects to acquieſce to thoſe demands. An abſolute refuſal would have broke off all negotiation, and ſtopped up the road which providence had opened to peace.

The king was of opinion that the only way to avoid both thoſe inconveniences, would be to remove the negotiation to London; and ſince Prior was not authorized to treat in France, it appeared to his majeſty, that a perſon thoroughly informed of the advantages, which the Engliſh nation would receive from the king of Spain, was moſt likely to make the Engliſh miniſters comprehend them, by treating directly with the council, and under the inſpection of their ſovereign; that this would be the way to remove a multitude of difficulties, which are eaſily ſolved, when a negotiation is ſet on foot with a ſincere intention, and conducted with a mutual deſire of bringing it to a happy concluſion. Beſides, the reſolutions would be more expeditious; they would not depend on the uncertain arrival of couriers, expoſed to contrary winds and ſtormy ſeas. The event confirmed the ſolidity of theſe reflexions.

THIS important negotiation required a perſon of equal knowledge and prudence.

IN the precedent memoirs, we have made mention of Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the board of trade; he was thoroughly acquainted with the commerce of the Indies, and had lately ſhewn to his majeſty's miniſters, the papers which he had collected on this ſubject, ſo eſſential to the negotiation in hand. He was therefore pitched upon, as well qualified for diſcharging this important commiſſion. The only point remaining was the queen's conſent for the ſafety of his perſon, and there was not time to write for it; but the miniſter, who treated with Prior, had had the precaution to aſk him a few days before, whether the queen his miſtreſs would agree to his taking a truſty perſon with him to London, whom the king ſhould think qualified to treat with her majeſty's miniſters, in regard to ſeveral difficulties, which it would not be impoſſible for him to ſurmount.

PRIOR made anſwer that he had neither leave nor prohibition concerning an article that had never been on the carpet; that he thought himſelf at liberty to execute what ever the king ſhould think proper, fully ſatisfied that whoever his majeſty ſhould ſend to London, would be well received.

MENA-

MENAGER having had notice to get himſelf ready, was immediately informed of the demands of the Engliſh, and of his majeſty's intentions in regard to each article.

THE Engliſh did not demand that his majeſty ſhould acknowledge the queen's title; this acknowledgment was ſuppoſed to have been made, the very moment the negotiation was tranferred to London; but what more ſenſibly affected that nation, and what they moſt obſtinately inſiſted on, was that the king ſhould acknowledge the order of ſucceſſion to the throne of Great Britain, as ſettled by act of parliament.

THE other demands of that crown were.

A new treaty of commerce.

A mutual convention between France and England, that both nations ſhould keep the ſeveral countries and territories, which they ſhould happen to poſſeſs in North America, at the time when the treaty of peace after the exchange of ratifications, ſhould be publiſhed in the ſeveral parts of the new world.

The ceſſion of Gibraltar and Portmahon on the part of the king of Spain.

THAT this prince, after the concluſion of the treaty, ſhould grant to the Engliſh, all the advantages, rights, and privileges, which the French, or any other favourite nation, had enjoyed or might enjoy in their trade with Spain.

THAT

"THAT the Negro trade at that time in the hands of a French company ſhould be given to two African companies of Engliſh merchants, and that ſettlements ſhould be aſſigned them in America, where they might refreſh, and diſpoſe of the Negroes tranſported to that country.

THAT theſe ſettlements ſhould be ſpecified and mentioned by name in the treaty of peace."

BUT the principal demand of Great Britain, was the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk.

THIS article was to be regulated, as ſoon as all the other conditions of the treaty ſhould be agreed to.

IT was required by the Engliſh miniſtry, that the negotiation ſhould be kept ſecret. They thought it neceſſary, that the Dutch ſhould know nothing of the advantages, which the Engliſh were to obtain in favour of their commerce. And indeed the king was willing to favour them, out of gratitude for promoting the intereſts of the king of Spain, and for contributing to a juſt, reaſonable, and ſolid peace.

As the court of London made no doubt, but the king upon ſigning the peace would recognize queen Anne, as ſovereign of Great Britain and Ireland; ſo they were perſuaded in France, that her majeſty would acknowledge king Phi-

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lip as ſole legitimate poſſeſſor of the Spaniſh monarchy; and that ſhe would promiſe of courſe to exert all her endeavours, to oblige her allies to recognize him in the ſame quality. She had not however explained herſelf as yet in regard to this article, nor concerning the other conditions relative to France.

The terms which the king offered, for concluding a peace with the Emperor and the Empire, were confined to renewing the treaty of Ryſwic. But his majeſty demanded as an eſſential condition, the reſtoration of Cologne and Bavaria to their dominions, honours, and dignities.

For himſelf he pretended to the reſtitution of the towns of Liſle, Tournay, Aire, Bethune, and Doway.

Menager's inſtructions conſiſted of theſe conditions, ſo immenſely different from the preliminaries propoſed by the penſionary Heinſius, adopted and maintained as the neceſſary foundation of peace. His majeſty moreover empowered him, to promiſe that he ſhould prevail on the king of Spain, to let the Engliſh have the privilege, which had been granted ſome years before to a French company, of tranſporting Negroes to America; as alſo to aſſign ſettlements for them in that part of the world, for refreſhing and ſelling thoſe ſlaves.

His majeſty undertook to obtain of the king of Spain, that the Engliſh merchants ſhould be exempted from the duties impoſed in the ports of Spain and the Indies; with a promiſe that thoſe merchants ſhould enjoy the ſame advantages, rights, and privileges, as any other nation enjoyed or might hereafter enjoy, thro' the whole extent of the Spaniſh monarchy.

Menager was ſenſible of the importance of preſerving Gibraltar and Portmahon for Spain, though his Catholic majeſty conſented to ſacrifice them for the ſake of peace: therefore it was left to his diſcretion to conteſt both thoſe articles, without carrying the diſpute ſo far as to break off the negotiation; but if he was obliged to yield, he ſhould endeavour to reap ſome advantage from the complaiſance, which his majeſty allowed him to ſhew the Engliſh, purſuant to the powers received of the king of Spain.

Menager was ordered to promiſe that a treaty of commerce ſhould be concluded, as Prior had demanded, and according to the expreſſions contained in his memorial *in the moſt juſt and reaſonable manner.*

A very important article in regard to France, was the ceſſion of the iſle of Newfoundland, which the Engliſh inſiſted upon, as alſo on the ceſſion of Hudſon's Bay and ſtrait. They propoſed at the ſame time that both nations ſhould keep the ſeveral countries, which they might happen

happen to be poſſeſſed of at the time of proclaiming the peace.

THE commerce of France was greatly intereſted in this article: nor was it leſs intereſting to her marine, and to the ſupport of her trade and navigation. Menager thoroughly ſenſible of the different conſequences, was to uſe the king's power with diſcretion; and when he ſhould think it neceſſary to yield to the importunity of the Engliſh for the ſake of peace, then he might give up Placentia and the iſle of Newfoundland, but with certain conditions.

THE firſt, that the king's ſubjects ſhould continue to take and to dry cod fiſh, as they had hitherto practiſed, on that part of Newfoundland, called *little North*.

THAT the Engliſh ſhould quit all pretenſion to the iſlands of Cape Breton and S. Mary.

THAT Fort Royal, and whatever depended on Acadia, ſhould be reſtored to the king.

AT that time the Engliſh had formed a project of making themſelves maſters of Quebec. A ſquadron was fitted out, and a body of troops embarked under the command of brigadier Hill, brother to the queen's favourite, and the principal cauſe of her averſion to Marlborough. They flattered themſelves in London with a happy iſſue of this expedition; and the miniſtry already pretended, that if it ſucceeded, Quebec ſhould be given up to the crown of England: but

but the iſſue did not anſwer their expectation; the ſquadron was diſperſed, and there was an end of their pretenſion.

BUT of all their demands, the Engliſh had none ſo much at heart as the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk.

THE king would have been glad to have preſerved thoſe works, which he had erected either for the defence of the town, or for ſecuring the entrance of the harbour; but peace was neceſſary, and the ſucceſs of the negotiation ſeemed to depend on his majeſty's complaiſance to the Engliſh.

IF the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk muſt be ſacrificed to that nation, it would be proper to try, whether ſome advantage might not be derived from the king's acquieſcing to the preſſing importunities of the queen of Great Britain.

PRIOR's powers were ſo limited, that there could be no treating with him, in regard to the conditions which the king might pretend to, as an equivalent for the demolition of the works erected either in the town, or in the harbour of Dunkirk. It was agreed only, that this article ſhould be left to be diſcuſſed in England the very laſt of all; and in the mean time Menager was previouſly and minutely informed, of the ſeveral equivalents he had to propoſe, when this demolition ſhould come upon the carpet. They conſiſted in the reſtitution of the fortified towns,

which

which the king had loſt in Flanders, eſpecially Liſle and Tournay. The king empowered Menager to offer ſome other towns in exchange, if the ſtate of the negotiation ſhould require it. He was directed to uſe his powers with prudence and by degrees. It would be ſuperfluous to ſpecify the particulars, which may be ſeen in the ſequel of the negotiation terminated by the treaty of Utrecht.

THE inſtructions were given to Menager only; ſo that neither the abbé Gaultier, nor Prior, were to know the contents. Beſides Menager would want their advice, in order to be introduced to the queen's miniſters, and to enter into conference with the perſons appointed by her majeſty. From what Prior ſaid there was room to think, that ſhe would pitch upon the earl of Oxford, at that time conſidered as prime miniſter, the duke of Shrewsbury, the earl of Jerſey, and St. John, ſecretary of ſtate, whom ſhe eſteemed for his bright parts, for his knowledge, for his zeal, and attachment to her perſon, as alſo for his love of his country, and conſequently for his diſpoſition to peace; and whom for theſe reaſons ſhe preferred to lord Dartmouth, who was ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouth department.

MENAGER and his two fellow travellers arrived ſafe in London the 18th of Auguſt 1711. The next day Prior acquainted the queen with the arrival of the miniſter, whom the king had appointed

appointed to negotiate in England. Her majeſty was pleaſed with the news; and that very evening, Prior came by her orders to give aſſurances of the ſame to Menager; he added that ſhe was only ſorry, to be obliged to conceal an event, that was ſo very agreeable to her; and from this very neceſſity not to have it in her power to treat him as ſhe could wiſh, and according to the dignity of the prince that employed him. Theſe aſſurances which Prior gave in the name of the queen his miſtreſs, were accompanied with compliments from the earls of Oxford, and Jerſey, from the duke of Shrewsbury, and the two ſecretaries of ſtate, who were all named commiſſioners to treat with him. Prior was to have been included in the ſame commiſſion; his province was to give a ſketch of the principal matters before the opening of the conferences. The time was fixed for the week following; but before they would proceed to buſineſs, they demanded an anſwer in writing to the memorial, which Prior delivered to the king's miniſter at Fontainebleau.

THIS demand was embaraſſing to Menager, who thought it dangerous alike either to grant or to refuſe it. He was unacquainted with the intentions, and the character of the commiſſioners; they might convert ſuch a writing to ſome bad purpoſe; when they had it in their poſſeſſion, they might make obſervations on it, very

prejudicial to the ſucceſs of the negotiation; perhaps they would take advantage of it to oppugn what Menager had to propoſe; and beſides, he could not have the liberty to form what reſervations he ſhould think neceſſary, nor to explain himſelf by degrees.

A refuſal would have been equally dangerous; it would have created a juſt ſuſpicion of his ſincerity before the negotiation commenced, even before he had ſeen the miniſters appointed for the conferences. The queen's demands had been propoſed in writing, and Prior delivered the memorial to one of the king's miniſters; if Menager ſhould not do the ſame in regard to his majeſty's anſwer, he would have given room to believe by this difference of proceeding, that there was ſome ſecret deſign againſt which the miniſtry ought to be upon their guard.

MENAGER having maturely weighed the arguments on both ſides, prudently reſolved to draw up the memorial in queſtion; and he divided it into two parts.

IN the firſt he treated of the particular intereſt, and demands of England.

IN the ſecond he explained the king's pretenſions for his kingdom, for his ſubjects, for his grandſon, and for the allies of France and Spain.

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WITH regard to England the king agreed to acknowledge queen Anne, as queen of Great Britain, to acknowledge likewiſe the ſucceſſion to that crown, as ſettled in favour of the Proteſtant line, by acts of parliament.

HIS majeſty approved of the reſolution, which the king of Spain had taken, to yield Gibraltar and Portmahon to the Engliſh, for the ſake of peace, as alſo to grant them the privilege, at that time enjoyed by the French, of tranſporting Negroes from the coaſt of Guinea to America.

THE Engliſh were to enjoy in all parts of the Spaniſh dominions, every advantage granted, or to be granted to the moſt favoured nation.

THE king for his part, was to yield the iſle of Newfoundland to Great Britain. The conditions of this ceſſion were ſpecified purſuant to the inſtruction which Menager had received of his majeſty.

HE promiſed and demanded ſecrecy, highly neceſſary in the beginning of this important negotiation.

THE ſecond part of the memorial contained on the other hand, the conditions which the king demanded of the queen of Great Britain.

THE firſt was, that this princeſs ſhould not only promiſe to recognize king Philip as lawful ſovereign of Spain, but further, to uſe her ſincere and utmoſt endeavours to have him ac-

knowledged in the ſame quality of king of Spain and the Indies by all her allies.

THAT England ſhould concur to the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaty of Ryſwic, in whatever relates to the frontier of France and the Netherlands, as well as to the German boundaries.

THE reſtoration of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, who had been unjuſtly put under ban of the empire, to the different dominions, honours, and dignities, of which they had been deprived; the reſtitution of their effects, reparation for the loſſes they had both ſuſtained, and finally an indemnification in favour of the elector of Bavaria, who would accept of the ſovereignty of the Netherlands as ſuch.

THE reſtitutions to be made to the princes of Italy, would have taken up too much time and inquiry, to be debated at the conferences of London. The memorial propoſed to refer this article to the conferences for a general peace. It would be time enough then to determine the meaſures neceſſary for ſecuring the peace and tranquility of Italy; without derogating however from the regulations made in favour of the duke of Savoy.

The only point remaining was to anſwer the article of the ſettlements, which the Engliſh demanded of the king of Spain, in the Weſt Indies, for the eaſe and ſecurity of their American commerce; a pretenſion ſo much the more difficult

ficult to get over, as it perſonally intereſted the lord treaſurer, founder of the new eſtabliſhment of the South Sea company. Menager took all the pains he could to perſuade Prior, that the commiſſaries ſhould not inſiſt on a condition, which the king of Spain would never grant.

BESIDES his anſwers in writing, he preſented a memorial, containing a plan of commerce, agreeable to the general intereſt of all the nations of Europe. He gave them to underſtand, that if this plan was followed, the king might obtain ſome particular advantages of his Catholic majeſty, in favour of merchandiſe of the growth and manufacture of England.

THE two memorials pleaſed the queen as well as her miniſters. The 25th of Auguſt ſhe declared in council, that a perſon commiſſioned by the king, and charged with propoſals of peace, was come over to London; that ſhe had judged proper to know the nature of thoſe propoſals, and had appointed the two ſecretaries of ſtate, in conjunction with Mr. Prior, to hear them, that the work would be perfected by the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Shrewsbury.

AT the ſame time ſhe gave orders that every civility ſhould be ſhewn to Menager, that might ſooth the uneaſineſs he muſt feel, at be-

ing confined for ſome time, and obliged to keep out of the way of public company.

She would moreover defray his expences during the time he reſided in London; the care of which was given to the abbé Gaultier.

The firſt conference was held the 26th of Auguſt at the earl of Jerſey's: the abbé Gaultier was permitted to be preſent; it laſted four hours, but nothing was decided. Menager repreſented in the ſtrongeſt light, the advantages, which the Engliſh would obtain by the king's interpoſition, for their commerce in America. Great attention was paid him; but when he was going to explain the conditions, which his majeſty demanded for himſelf and his allies, anſwer was made him, that at preſent they were to treat only of matters relating to England, that the intereſts of the king and his allies ſhould be diſcuſſed at the conferences for a general peace: in vain did Menager make a reply; they cut him ſhort, ſaying, that a diſcuſſion of that kind would be too tedious, and it was time to have done.

The eager deſire of the Engliſh miniſters to come to a concluſion, made amends in ſome meaſure for the roughneſs of the anſwer. Prior the next day gave a ſtronger account of the good diſpoſitions of the council: he added further, that the king run no riſk, and he ſhould have reaſon to be content.

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THE 27th of Auguſt, Mr. Secretary St. John called upon Menager in the morning. He was come to wait upon him, he ſaid, by her majeſty's orders; that ſhe was greatly ſurpriſed at Menager's propoſing to enter into a detail of articles relative to the king's advantage, at the commencement of a negotiation which ought to be confined intirely to the intereſts of Great Britain. This miniſter therefore begged of him to declare, whether he was authorized to ſettle the points, relating to the Engliſh only. Menager had already mentioned his having ſuch authority; he repeated it again to St. John, but ſaid further, that he was empowered alſo to treat of the conditions, which his majeſty on the other hand demanded for himſelf and for his allies.

APPREHENSIVE of being diſmiſſed if he ſhould inſiſt on this point, he declared himſelf ready to conform to the queen's deſire; that if her majeſty pleaſed, he would preſent a project of treaty, to be concluded only between France and England, the articles of which ſhould be confined to the intereſts of both kingdoms, that he would ſend it over to France in order to receive freſh inſtructions as ſoon as poſſible from his majeſty.

St. John returned in the evening, and told him that the expedient he had propoſed would not do; that the beſt reſolution he could take, was to go back to France, in order to re-

preſent the ſituation of affairs himſelf, and to receive thoſe freſh inſtructions, which he intended to ſend for. I ſhould go with all my heart, replied Menager, if I could do it without the king's permiſſion. I beg therefore you will order a packet to be got ready, and I'll diſpatch a courier directly to France. I will acquaint the king with her majeſty's intentions, according as you have repreſented them. St. John ſatisfied with Menager's anſwer, deſired he would defer ſending the courier, and eſpecially that he would write nothing by that day's poſt.

THE day following, which was the 29th, the two ſecretaries of ſtate went to Prior's, on purpoſe to meet Menager; they told him, that the queen did not think it was right for him to go, nor would ſhe conſent to it.

THAT ſhe had given orders for getting a veſſel ready, according to his deſire, to carry the courier over to France.

THE expreſs however was retarded till the 3d of September; during which time they begged he would have patience, aſſuring him that they were endeavouring with great aſſiduity to remove the difficulties, which obſtructed the negotiation.

THE miniſters gave him notice the 3d of September, to meet them in the evening at the conference that was to be held at the earl of Jerſey's. Oxford, St. John, and Prior were there; and Menager took the abbé Gaultier

along

along with him. As ſoon as they were ſeated, St. John being more verſed in the French tongue, and a better orator than his collegue the earl of Dartmouth, took the lead. He would fain prove that their buſineſs at preſent was only to ſettle the advantages, which England ſhould derive from the peace; and he proteſted that as ſoon as this article could be agreed to, the queen his miſtreſs would transfer her whole attention to the intereſts of France; that her majeſty had ordered a packet to be got ready for carrying over the expreſs to Calais: but that they were previouſly to reſume the argument; and a more determinate anſwer muſt be given to the ſeveral articles in diſpute. Menager promiſed it.

THE firſt condition the Engliſh miniſtry demanded was the intire demolition of the works, which the king had erected at Dunkirk, as well on the land ſide, as towards the ſea. Menager in vain endeavoured to perſuade them to be ſatisfied with the deſtruction of the Riſban, and the forts towards the ſea. They were inflexible; the fortifications of a town ſo ſituated, gave too much uneaſineſs to England, to ſuffer them to ſtand. There was no other way then but to yield; Menager however in giving up this point, complied with his inſtructions in demanding a ſuitable reward for this extraordinary complaiſance to the queen of Great Britain. This was to procure, at the concluding of the peace, an equivalent for razing all the works

works, that had been erected for the defence of the town of Dunkirk, and the ſecurity of its harbour.

MENAGER propoſed for an equivalent, the reſtitutions of the towns of Liſle and Tournay.

THE miniſters aſſured him, that the queen really intended the king ſhould be indemnified. But as to the quality of the indemnification, they ſaid it was impoſſible then to determine it.

AFTER the article of Dunkirk, they proceeded next to the ſecurities, which England demanded for her trade in America. They pretended that the only ſecurity the king of Spain could give to pleaſe them, was to deliver up ſome towns in the Weſt Indies, as Prior had mentioned at Fontainebleau.

MENAGER declared that they muſt not expect the king of Spain would ever admit of ſuch a pretenſion. What advantage then, ſaid they, ſhall we obtain for our trade? You ſhall have, replied Menager, an exemption from the duties of Cadiz and the Indies, for all the commodities of the growth and manufacture of England.

THEY aſked whether that advantage would be granted only to England, or whether other nations would likewiſe enjoy it. I know, ſaid Menager, that when I was at Madrid, the king of Spain intended to lay a duty of at leaſt fifteen per cent. upon all goods, as well at Cadiz as in the

the Weſt Indies, and to impoſe it on all nations alike.

ST. JOHN aſked whether the French did not enjoy that ſame exemption, which his Catholic majeſty was willing to grant the Engliſh.

MENAGER made anſwer that the king of Spain had not as yet explained himſelf in regard to this article; but he proved by the particular privileges which ſhould be granted to the Engliſh merchants, beſides the Negro trade, and exemption from the above mentioned duties, that the Engliſh would be more favoured in their commerce than any other nation in Europe.

THE proofs he gave were not ſufficient to perſuade the miniſters. They aſked him again, what ſecurity they ſhould have of enjoying the privileges which he ſounded ſo high. He propoſed that the treaty ſhould be confirmed and ſworn to at the aſſembly of the ſtates of Caſtile, Such aſſemblies, replied Oxford, *ſunt magni nominis umbræ.*

SHOULD you be ſatisfied, ſaid Menager, if Cadiz was to have a Swiſs garriſon? This expedient, anſwered the miniſters, would ſuit the Swiſs extremely well, but is not at all proper for England.

THEN he offered Portmahon; very well, ſaid they, as a ſecurity for our trade to the Mediterranean; but what relation hath Portmahon to America?

ST.

St. John continued to inſiſt on the neceſſity of letting England have ſome ſettlements in the Weſt Indies for the ſecurity of her commerce. He concluded however with demanding, as an indemnification for the king of Spain's refuſal, that he would conſent at leaſt to let the Engliſh enjoy the Negro trade for 30 years. This was a long term; yet Menager made anſwer that he was convinced the king would employ his good offices to procure this new advantage for the Engliſh.

St. John *wanted ſomething more*, as he ſaid himſelf, intending to ſpecify what it was, in a memorial concerning the different queſtions diſcuſſed at the conference.

In vain did Menager endeavour to introduce the intereſts of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria. They repeated the ſame anſwer as before, and referred this article to the general conferences of peace.

St. John having finiſhed the memorial, gave it to Menager at a freſh conference held at Prior's the 9th of September. It was a repetition of the ſeveral demands made by England.

The queen was pleaſed to ſee that his majeſty conſented to ſeveral of her pretenſions, tho' ſhe excluded every demand relating to France, Spain, and their allies; it was not yet time ſaid the Engliſh miniſters, to enter into ſuch a diſcuſſion, it muſt be put off till the opening of the

the conferences for a general peace. But they were not for deferring Menager's promiſes, to this uncertain period; they wanted to enjoy the reward before they had done the ſervice; eſpecially to be exempt from the duties of Cadiz and the Indies, an advantage which Menager rated at fifteen per cent. profit.

THE negotiation made no progreſs; its ſucceſs would have even appeared dubious, had not the Engliſh miniſters been perſonally intereſted in removing the difficulties, and concluding as ſoon as poſſible; but they were kept back by another intereſt, at leaſt equally preſſing.

IN countries ſubject to revolutions, it is natural for the men in power never to loſe ſight of future contingencies. The Engliſh have a political maxim that their kings can do no wrong, and therefore not accountable for what may be thought eſſential faults of government, which ſhould be conſidered as the effect of evil counſels: conſequently the counſellors are the only perſons to blame, and ought to bear the puniſhment due to their male practiſes.

THE ſituation of affairs in England was ſubject every day to change. The only way for her miniſters to be ſafe, if miniſters in that country can promiſe themſelves ſafety, in treating ſeparately from the reſt of the allies, was to obtain ſuch advantages for the nation, as ſhould ſcreen them if poſſible from the fatal conſequence of a change of government, and from the fury and reſentment

ſentment of their enemies. Yet theſe reflexions did not damp their deſire of overcoming the difficulties which retarded the peace.

THEY talked of the place of congreſs for the miniſters of the ſeveral powers concerned in the preſent war. It was agreed that the Hague was more convenient for that purpoſe than any other ſpot. The earl of Jerſey was already pitched upon as firſt plenipotentiary from the queen of Great Britain. There was reaſon to think, that a nobleman ſo well diſpoſed to peace, would perfectly acquit himſelf of that important commiſſion; but he died ſuddenly, juſt at the time when his life ſeemed moſt neceſſary to the ſtate.

AFTER St. John had delivered his memorial to Menager, it was thought proper to deſire the abbé Gaultier to carry it to Verſailles, and to give an exact account of every thing that had paſſed, ſince he might ſpeak of his own certain knowledge, and as an eye witneſs. The queen would have him take a meſſenger along with him, to prevent being ſearched by the cuſtom houſe officers. Menager had experienced the neceſſity of ſuch a guard upon his landing in England, and it was not without difficulty that Prior reſcued him out of their rapacious hands.

GAULTIER upon his arrival at Verſailles, gave an account of his commiſſion. It did not anſwer the king's expectation; for it ſeemed but juſt, that

that ſince his majeſty engaged to procure conſiderable advantages for England, the engagement ſhould be reciprocal. And yet there was no room to doubt of the ſincerity of the queen's miniſters, becauſe they had a perſonal intereſt in the peace, the preſervation not only of their fortunes but of their lives, depending on it.

THE king out of regard to their perilous ſituation, was willing to bare a ſhare of their troubles, and in order to leſſen their burden, to give up part of his juſt pretenſions. With this view his majeſty gave orders for drawing up a memorial, containing an anſwer to the ſeveral demands of England, and at the ſame time an inſtruction to Menager; firmly perſuaded that the queen and her miniſters would receive with equal gratitude and ſatisfaction theſe further proofs of his ſincere deſire to procure her majeſty the glory of reſtoring the tranquility of Europe. This memorial was ſigned by the king, and empowered Menager to refer the equivalent for diſmantling Dunkirk, to the general conferences of peace.

HE approved of the conditions demanded by the Engliſh, inſtead of the ſettlements which the king of Spain could not grant them in America.

THE king had already conſented to yield Placentia and the iſle of Newfoundland to Great Britain; but he repeated his orders to Menager,

ger, to inſiſt that the French ſhould preſerve the liberty of taking and drying cod fiſh in that part called the *little North*.

His majeſty demanded that England ſhould make a formal renunciation, of all pretenſion to the iſlands of Cape Breton, St. Peter, and St. Mary. He reſerved to himſelf the power of forming what ſettlements he ſhould think proper in thoſe iſlands.

Menager was to inſiſt on the reſtitution of Port Royal, and of all the dependancies of Acadia; and as it was not known whether the Engliſh had ſucceeded in their expedition againſt Quebec, the king demanded, in caſe of any ſuch ſucceſs, that this town ſhould be reſtored to him together with the dependancies of Canada.

His majeſty ordered Menager to add the ceſſion of Hudſon's Bay and ſtraits to that of Newfoundland; and in order to convince the queen of Great Britain and her miniſters, of his ſtrong deſire to co-operate with them in the ſame deſign, he empowered Menager, by a ſeparate clauſe in the memorial, to refer all diſcuſſions concerning North America, to the general negotiations of peace.

The power granted to Menager upon his ſetting out for England, authorized him *to treat and to negotiate with the miniſters of the ſeveral provinces and ſtates at war with his majeſty.*

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THE queen's commiſſaries had demanded that this power ſhould be limited, ſince the buſineſs now was to treat with England only: the king acquieſced to their demand; the power was altered; and a new one ſent to Menager, agreeable to the Engliſh.

THEY had anticipated the king's reſolution, rejecting the propoſal of putting a Swiſs garriſon in the town of Cadiz; his majeſty had alſo his private reaſons for not approving of the plan propoſed by Menager, for the commerce of America; he wrote to him therefore to let both thoſe propoſitions drop.

MR. Secretary St. John had demanded a general plan of the propoſals of peace, which France was willing to make to all her enemies. The queen intended to ſend it over to Holland. This plan was added to Menager's new inſtructions, and delivered to the abbé Gaultier. It was the ſame as the king had ordered to be given to Prior, when he ſet out from Fontainebleau, except the preamble, and the general offer of a barrier for the Empire, inſerted in the fourth article, in the very terms which St. John deſired.

MENAGER had orders to deliver the memorial containing theſe general propoſitions to the

miniſters of Great Britain, and to ſign it if ſuch was their deſire.

It had been the opinion of thoſe miniſters that the Hague would be the propereſt ſpot to treat of peace; Menager was of the ſame way of thinking: but the king judged otherwiſe, obſerving how inconvenient it would be to treat of peace, under the inſpection of the penſionary, a perſon connected with the duke of Marlborough, and both, but eſpecially the latter, intereſted in protracting the war, and always averſe to peace; that the penſionary, the author of the preliminaries, would uſe all his endeavours to hinder the concluding of a general treaty, and that perhaps he might ſucceed, ſhould he be appointed, as in all probability he would, one of the plenipotentiaries for the Republic.

Tho' the Hague was excluded, yet this was no objection againſt ſome other town of the United Provinces. Utrecht, Arnheim, Nimeguen, might do, or any other that the queen of Great Britain ſhould approve of, ſince ſhe objected againſt Aix la Chapelle and Liege; but the chuſing a place for the congreſs, was not a matter of ſuch importance as to retard it one moment, or to defer the great buſineſs of peace. It was there-

therefore ſufficient to repreſent the inconvenience of treating at the Hague; and if the repreſentation ſhould not perſuade the queen, Menager had orders not to inſiſt upon it, but to conform to what her majeſty ſhould judge proper.

As he ſaw his commiſſion was drawing near an end, and in all probability a happy one, he had aſked the king's inſtructions, how to behave himſelf before his departure, in regard to taking leave of the queen. He had treated with that princeſs's miniſters, in conſequence of the powers with which they had been inveſted: therefore he had acknowledged them, as miniſters of the ſovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, empowered by her to enter into a negotiation with him, upon a moſt important affair, the general pacification of Europe. The negotiation on both ſides had been conducted with equal ſincerity, and deſire of bringing it to a happy concluſion. It would have been very odd in thoſe circumſtances that he ſhould leave London without deſiring to be introduced to a princeſs, of whoſe ſentiments there was no ſort of doubt, ſince ſhe had given convincing proofs of their being ſuch as his majeſty could wiſh. Yet Menager could not demand an audience without expreſs orders from his majeſty, who had not

hitherto acknowledged that princeſs as queen of Great Britain.

An order or rather permiſſion was ſent him, to take leave of the queen, if her miniſters ſeemed to deſire it, or if he himſelf ſhould think he could not with decency decline it.

The abbé Gaultier ſet out with the new memorial and the king's inſtructions to Menager, and arrived in London the 23d of September. Prior ſent word directly to the earl of Oxford. The miniſters commiſſioned by the queen, came to town from Windſor; in the mean time Menager, together with the abbé Gaultier, waited upon the lord treaſurer at eight o' clock the ſame evening. The joy that miniſter received from the king's anſwers, tho' he had only a general idea of them, appeared in the hearty welcome he gave to Menager, more than in a profuſion of expreſſions. He familiarly kept him to ſupper. After the ſervants were gone, he told him that he treated him as a friend; that he looked upon the king as England's good ally; and then he drank the health of his majeſty, of the dauphin, &c., and of his miniſters.

They talked of the place for holding the conferences. Menager obſerved the inconveniency of

of the Hague. The king, ſaid Oxford, ſhall be ſatisfied upon that article, and upon every thing elſe. He allowed that delays would hurt the negotiation, and promiſed a conference the next day.

THE miniſters appointed by the queen, met accordingly at Prior's the 30th of September, nine o' clock at night. They retired into a little room by themſelves; and after Menager came, it was ſome time before he could get admittance. Upon being introduced, he obſerved a great alteration in their countenances: the duke of Shrewsbury eſpecially ſeemed the moſt uneaſy. However they received him not only politely, but with great marks of ſatisfaction.

AT the opening of the conference, Menager told them that notwithſtanding the juſt uneaſineſs it might give his majeſty, to ſee England refuſe to take the leaſt engagement in any of the points relating to the intereſts of France; yet his majeſty was determined to comply with moſt of the conditions demanded by that crown. He ſhewed his new power for ſigning, as preliminaries, the king's anſwers to their demands.

THE duke of Shrewsbury read the power ſeveral times. Menager thought he read it with

the attention of a perſon that wanted to find ſome flaw in it; but if he had any ſuch notion, he was diſappointed. There was no fault to be found with the power. They proceeded therefore to read the anſwers.

THE Engliſh miniſters ſtill appeared to be in the ſame perturbation, eſpecially Shrewsbury. Menager could not imagine the cauſe, much leſs what would be the iſſue of it.

THIS uneaſineſs was in part owing to the natural timidity of the duke of Shrewsbury. He had a thorough knowledge of the conſtitution of his country, and a ſenſibility of the danger to which the miniſters are expoſed, either upon the acceſſion of another prince to the throne, or upon a change of miniſtry. The more he was verſed in thoſe matters, the more the apprehenſion of future inquiries diſturbed his mind; it even impelled him, notwithſtanding his gentle diſpoſition, to ſpeak in a rough manner to Menager at one of the conferences. And yet Shrewsbury was as deſirous of peace as any in the adminiſtration. They were all ſtruck with the terror of a period that perhaps was not remote, and notwithſtanding their good intentions, they were awed by this reflexion. We muſt except St. John, who read Menager's papers

pers out aloud, and gave marks of approbation to each article.

WHEN he had done reading, all the diſpute they had, was about the articles relating to America. The Engliſh conteſted the privilege, which the king reſerved to his ſubjects, after the ceſſion of Newfoundland, of taking and drying cod-fiſh on that iſland.

THE other articles of the mutual ceſſion in that part of the world, were alſo diſcuſſed. At length, the difficulties concerning this article were reduced to an indemnification which the Engliſh pretended to, for the expence of the expedition to Canada. By the laſt accounts they had had from brigadier Hill, commander of the Engliſh forces, it was mentioned that they had entered the river of St. Laurence; but the ſucceſs of that enterprize was ſtill uncertain.

THEY came to no determination in regard to this article, which was leſs intereſting to England, than to the brother of the queen's favourite; but this conſideration, more than any other, excited the attention of the miniſtry.

MENAGER being tied down by the inſtructions which the king had lately ſent him, took

notice that he could not go beyond his orders; that with concern he foreſaw the danger to which the negotiation would be expoſed, ſhould he be obliged to return to France, before it was concluded.

THE Engliſh propoſed to refer the articles at preſent conteſted, to the general conferences of peace. Menager made anſwer, that the condition of enjoying the Negro trade for thirty years, and the ceſſion of the iſle of St. Chriſtopher, muſt therefore be referred to the ſame conferences.

THE Engliſh replied they would think on it, and begged of Menager to entruſt St. John with copies of the new power, of the king's memorial, and of the generals propoſal of peace, in order to lay thoſe different papers before the queen.

AFTER a pauſe of ſome minutes, St. John broke ſilence, and ſaid it was ordained by act of parliament, that no perſon whatſoever in England ſhould be authorized to treat with a prince that harboured the pretender. This reflexion did not ariſe from the ſubject or from any one point diſcuſſed at the conference; and indeed it was not made upon the ſpot: it was one cauſe of the

the diſpute which the miniſters had among themſelves in Prior's cabinet, and of thoſe outward marks of diſquietude, which they had ſhewn at the beginning of the conference. Menager could not poſſibly foreſee a ſcruple of that kind, and therefore was unprepared for anſwering it. Yet he did not appear at all embaraſſed. It is now, ſaid he, ſeven or eight months, ſince we have been treating bona fide of the means to obtain a peace. You have given a memorial of your pretenſions. The king's anſwers are ſincere; I have received a new power from his majeſty, in the form and manner as you deſired; and now you ſtart a freſh difficulty. You are ſenſible it is impoſſible I ſhould be prepared to anſwer it; ſince it is quite new, and has been thought of but this very moment. I ſhall only obſerve that it is premature; for our preſent buſineſs is not a treaty, but preliminaries. You will give what orders you pleaſe to your plenipotentiaries, when we come to treat of peace; perhaps you will not have the ſame uneaſineſs then as you have now. The chevalier de St. George is upon a tour thro' different provinces of France; who can tell where he will be, or whether he will be in the kingdom, or gone into ſome other prince's dominions, at the opening of the conferences of peace? The obſervation ſeemed juſt, the miniſters unanimouſly applauded it, and promiſed

miſed that the queen their miſtreſs ſhould immediately expedite the power of accepting the king's offers in favour of Great Britain.

THE apprehenſion of thoſe miniſters may appear frivolous to thoſe who are unacquainted with the conſtitution of England, and with the continual danger to which thoſe who have the direction of public affairs in that kingdom, ſtand expoſed. Theſe very miniſters experienced this viciſſitude, a few years afterwards, when the duke of Hanover aſcended the Britiſh throne. Their enemies in credit with the new ſovereign, and excited by the ſpirit of revenge, impeached thoſe men, whom queen Anne had employed in the pacification of Europe: and the only reward ſome of them had for the ſervices done their country, was to be forced into exile and treated as criminals. They were charged with clandeſtine tranſactions in favour of the pretender, whom they never ſo much as mentioned, but when they inſiſted on his being removed out of France, as an eſſential condition of peace. Finding no evidence, tho' in a charge of that importance to England, the informers were obliged to own, that they had ſearched into the papers and letters in their poſſeſſion, but could not meet with no proofs of the ſecret negotiations in favour of the pretender; and according

to

to the expreſſions of the ſecret committee, "they are not to be found in the great num-"ber of volumes, deeds, and papers, which "they have carefully examined."

MENAGER was invited to Prior's the 4th of October, where he found St. John, with one of the commiſſioners for trade and plantations, whoſe name was Moore. They wanted to get over ſome difficulties about the terms to be uſed, in expreſſing the permiſſion of tranſporting Negro ſlaves to to the ports of America; as likewiſe to know the particulars of that exemption of Engliſh merchandiſe from the duties of fifteen per cent, which Menager promiſed, as a very conſiderable advantage to Great Britain.

IN ſhort, the article of diſmantling Dunkirk, and of filling up the harbour, was not, according to them, ſufficiently explained.

ST. John, whom we cannot too greatly admire for his ſincere diſpoſitions to peace, helped to ſurmount thoſe difficulties. He was grieved to ſee that a negotiation of ſuch importance ſhould be in danger of miſcarrying, only merely through ſuſpicion of a few terms ſeemingly ambiguous.

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MENAGER obſerved, that the king's anſwers were preciſe, and ſuch as the queen's miniſters had deſired; that they were neither doubtful nor ambiguous, and that it was ſufficient to read them again with attention, to remove all ſuſpicion. He repeated the promiſes already given, that the king ſhould obtain, for the new *Aſſiento* company, the ſame privileges as thoſe which the French company had hitherto enjoyed.

THE conteſt grew warm about the power which the king would reſerve for his ſubjects, of taking and drying cod-fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland. Menager maintained that the king could not give up this point; but he promiſed that his majeſty would conſent to refer the diſcuſſion of the other difficulties to the general conferences of peace.

THE article of king James's reſiding in France, came again upon the carpet; and St. John treated it as an inſuperable obſtacle to peace. He complained moreover, that the king ſhould refuſe, when treating at London, to agree to the ſame article, which he had granted in the preliminaries drawn up at the Hague by the penſionary of Holland in the year 1709.

MENAGER demonſtrated that the preſent negotiation was infinitely more advantageous to England, than the project of 1709, the intereſts of the Engliſh nation having been at that time neglected. He renewed the propoſal of referring the article of king James's reſidence, to the conferences of peace. However, he laid a particular ſtreſs on its being the intereſt of the Engliſh miniſtry to finiſh the negotiation as ſoon as poſſible; and therefore he adviſed St. John to abide by the king's anſwers, with which the queen might very well be ſatisfied, as indeed ſhe appeared to be. If, ſaid he, I muſt go back to France, you will expoſe the negotiation not only to vexatious delays, but to ſome unlucky miſcarriage. This is ſo much the more to be apprehended, as within thoſe few days the queen has confided her ſecret to the duke of Buckingham, to lord Pawlet, and to the biſhop of Briſtol; each of whom, to ſhow his penetration, has propoſed alterations and additions, which is enough to occaſion further diſappointments.

Theſe agitations ſubſided; and the day after the ſecond conference, as ſoon as St. John returned from Windſor to London, he ſent word to Menager that he ſhould be glad to ſee him at Prior's. The ſtorm blew over, and was ſucceeded by a perfect calm. The queen in council, had reſolved to take no notice of the remarks made on ſome expreſſions in the king's anſwer,

which were judged ambiguous. St. John ſaid that the love of peace had triumphed in the queen's breaſt over every other conſideration; ſhe wanted no alteration but that of the term *North America*, and only deſired that this part of the world ſhould be called *America on the North Sea*.

The difficulty of ſuffering the French to continue their Cod fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, was removed; the queen having conſented to it. Menager was too prudent to diſpute the alteration of a word with that princeſs; ſo that St. John and he, were both equally ſatisfied.

The queen had given orders that a commiſſion ſhould be made out, empowering them to negotiate in form. The project was to give a clear explanation of the articles agreed to on both ſides by a particular convention. During the time that Menager reſided in London, he had experienced the mutability of Britiſh councils. He had ſeen inſtances, when reſolutions of the precedent day, were ſet aſide the day following. For this reaſon he was afraid of the new difficulties that might ariſe from ſome expreſſions inſerted in this convention; and to avoid all ſubject of diſpute, he let St. John ſee that it might be productive of further diſputes; and beſides, ſaid he, it is abſolutely needleſs. The king alone engages, and the queen accepts of his majeſty's engagement in favour of Great-Britain.

Britain. It is therefore ſufficient for me to ſign, in virtue of my powers, the articles granted to her Majeſty. She will alſo ſign her acceptance; and you are to give me this conſent ſigned by herſelf, on a duplicate of my memorial; you are likewiſe to take notice that my power extends no further than to ſign the king's engagement.

St. John ſatisfied with Menager's anſwer, added, that it would be ſtill neceſſary to remove any ſcruples, or uneaſineſs, which the council might entertain, in regard to the obſcure paſſages, or what they imagined to be obſcure paſſages, in the king's anſwers. Menager promiſed to ſpecify in clear terms, that as ſoon as they ſet a treaty of general peace on foot, the conditions which the king granted to England, ſhould be thrown into the uſual form of treaties, and explained in the moſt intelligble manner, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the crowns of France, and Great Britain.

Pleaſed with theſe aſſurances St. John took Menager's memorial, telling him at the ſame time that they ſhould ſet out together for Windſor, where he would preſent him to the queen his miſtreſs; that Menager ſhould hear her majeſty's ſentiments from her own mouth, and from thence ſhould judge of her ſincere deſire of peace, which ſhe had made known to her council interms ſo clear and ſo poſitive, that they had ceaſed to make any remonſtrances or

oppoſition againſt it. He added that the queen had expreſſed a particular ſatisfaction at the polite expreſſions, with which the king had been pleaſed to honour her, in the beginning of his anſwers.

One would have thought that theſe ſpeeches were ſufficient to baniſh all miſtruſts of the mutability of Britiſh councils. Yet Menager had reaſon to ſuſpect them. The event ſhewed that he was not miſtaken, for the negotiation had like to have broke off, when it appeared neareſt a happy concluſion.

Prior came to him the 6th of October in the morning, to let him know on the part of the miniſters, that the article of *Newfoundland* could not be accepted in the form agreed upon the day before. This change, ſaid Prior, was owing to the repreſentations of the merchants of London: who pretended that it contained ſome equivocal expreſſions, extremely prejudicial to their commerce. He propoſed therefore to refer the whole to the conferences of peace. In vain did Menager offer to ſtrike out every term capable of giving the leaſt ſuſpicion. The plaineſt way was to mention, that the French ſhould have the liberty of taking and drying fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland. But the real difficulty on the part of England did not conſiſt in the expreſſions.

So ſudden and unexpected a change was owing to a ſecret cauſe, which Prior did not ap-

approve He acknowledged that the expectation from the expedition againſt Canada, was the real motive of theſe ſudden delays: that if the ſcheme of ſeizing upon Quebec ſucceeded, the French would be abſolutely excluded from the fiſhery of Newfoundland. Upon theſe terms, replied Menager, England declares ſhe will have no peace; for ſhe muſt be ſure, that the king will chuſe rather to continue the war, than give up ſo capital a point. He ſhewed them the importance of it to France; and how inſignificant it was to the Engliſh, to oppoſe the deciſion of the queen and council, ſince they were poſſeſſed of an extent of ſea ſhore, more than thrice ſufficient for their fiſhery. You are men of honour, ſaid he, you have given your word, and I inſiſt upon your performing it. The whim of a few merchants, inſtigated perhaps by the enemies of the government, ought not to make the queen break her promiſe. Prior engaged to give a faithful account of all that Menager had ſaid to him, and he could do no more.

They had parted but a few hours, when Prior came to tell Menager, that the miniſtry conſented at length to let the French have the liberty ſo long conteſted, of taking and drying Cod fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland. Yet all the difficulties concerning the plan of articles did not end here; on the contrary new objections were ſtarted, which did not relate to England, but to her allies. The queen would have been

glad to give them all the ſatisfaction poſſible, and eſpecially to avoid the reproaches and outcries which ſhe expected from the Dutch.

The ſeventh of October, Prior brought the project of the alterations, which the miniſters wanted Menager to make in the articles delivered into their hands.

In regard to the firſt, they demanded that there ſhould be no mention made of the late king Charles the ſecond's will.

To add theſe words to the ſecond article, 'without excepting any of the parties concerned 'in the war, and trade ſhall be reſtored to the 'advantage of Great Britain, Holland, and 'other nations.'

To ſtrike out the terms uſed in the fourth article, in regard to the barrier to be left to the empire, and to inſert theſe words in their ſtead.

'The king conſents to the forming of a ſafe 'and proper barrier for the empire and the houſe 'of Auſtria &c.'

The Engliſh miniſters inſiſted further, that the conditions which the king was to grant the duke of Savoy, ſhould be included in a ſeparate article of the treaty.

That the engagement to acknowledge the queen of Great Britain, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, with the demolition of Dunkirk, ſhould be particularly ſpecified.

Menager

Menager having been empowered to ſign the articles anſwered Prior, that he had no inſtructions to make the leaſt alteration, that he was ſurprized at the council's offering any ſuch thing, when they were met only to ſign articles examined, and mutually agreed to. Prior made a very bad excuſe for them, We ſhall find, ſaid he, a great repugnance in the Dutch againſt the opening of the conferences. We muſt avoid every expreſſion capable of giving the leaſt ſuſpicion, or ſuſceptible of the leaſt comment. With this view we require ſome ſmall alterations, which cannot be called contrary to the king's intentions. If you refuſe them, you will hinder the concluding of a peace, which France and England ſo impatiently wiſh for.

When we propoſe making a ſeparate article in favour of the duke of Savoy, our motive is to avoid the complaints of the allies, whom the Dutch would be ſure to ſet againſt us; for it is eaſy to foreſee that Portugal, the electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, and eſpecially the Republic of Holland, would make a loud outcry, if England were to take no notice of them, while ſhe ſo ſtrongly eſpouſed the intereſts of the duke of Savoy. For the ſake of peace we ought to avoid the reproach of partiality in favour of our allies, and of neglect in regard to the remainder of thoſe who have embarked with us in the ſame cauſe.

Prior maintained it was eſſential to mention in very clear terms, that the king would acknowledge the title of the queen of Great Britain; otherwiſe the enemies of the government, who are very numerous, would give out, that it was injuring the nation, to omit a condition on which the peace abſolutely depended. Perhaps, they would ſay, this omiſſion proves a treaty to have been already ſecretly concluded, the firſt article of which in all probability, is that the king ſhall acknowledge her majeſty, as queen of the three kingdoms.

He proceeded, and in order to juſtify the expreſs demand of the demolition of Dunkirk, which they would fain have inſerted in the preliminaries, he ſaid it was doing particular ſervice to the king to demand it, and that it was his majeſty's intereſt to grant it: that it was the only way they had to obtain an equivalent from the Dutch for this demolition; that it was a matter of importance to give them timely notice of their being obliged to find this equivalent, and to acquaint them with the reaſon.

Menager knowing he could not exceed his powers, offered to go over to France, and to return directly with an anſwer. The offer was rejected, the conjuncture being preſſing, and the ſituation of affairs not permitting a ſingle moment to be loſt. It is true there was no room to expect better ſucceſs from a ſimple project

project of propoſals, that ſhould be ſent without ſigning to Holland. This would be idly expoſing it to the cenſure of allies, who were enemies to all propoſals of peace, and more over informed of its being on the anvil in London. Prior repreſented that it would be opening a ſpacious field for the Dutch to chicane and to elude the opening of the general conferences.

The Engliſh miniſters had loſt the opportunity of making their obſervations and further demands. Had they explained their minds before Gaultier ſet out for France, he would have brought back an anſwer, and Menager would not have been reduced to the dilemma either of refuſing what they demanded, or of acting without orders, and going beyond his powers. This is what he anſwered; yet Prior preſſed him to make uſe of his late inſtructions. Menager begged of him to conſider that this new power was leſs ample than the former, that it was limited at the preſſing inſtances of the Engliſh themſelves, who had judged the firſt too general; for at their deſire, the king had been pleaſed to ſend a ſecond, more particular and ſpecial, which authoriſed his miniſter to ſign only thoſe articles which related to England.

Theſe he ſtill offered to ſign, and to ſet out for France immediately after, promiſing that in eight days the queen of Great Britain ſhould

ſhould be ſatisfied. Prior continued to oppoſe this ſtep, and eſpecially Menager's departure: Delays were dangerous; the Dutch had ordered Buys the penſionary of Amſterdam to go over to England; it was by all means incumbent to be before hand with him. Prior mentioning this to Menager, told him that the queen had given orders to write to Buys to defer his voyage; that ſhe had deſired the earl of Strafford her ambaſſadour to Holland, but then in London; to return immediately to the Hague; that he was commiſſioned to make propoſals which would be agreeable to the united provinces, as they were to her majeſty. If you perſiſt in your refuſal, ſaid he, we ſhall ſign nothing; and God knows when we ſhall have a peace. But all his ſollicitations did not avail; Menager would not acquieſce.

The abbe Gaultier informed him the next morning, that he had been to ſee Prior, who was terribly vexed, and told him that the negotiation was on the point of being broke off. Menager was ſenſible of the conſequences, and to prevent ſuch an extremity, he quickly drew up a new project, agreeable, in the main, to his orders, but the terms diſpoſed according to the humour of the Engliſh. Yet he ſcrupulouſly followed the expreſſions which the king preſcribed to him, in regard to the acknowledging queen Anne, and the demoliſhing of Dunkirk.

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This new project ſet matters to right, and both parties promiſed to ſign the next day. The queen's intention was to grant a commiſſion, under the great ſeal of England, empowering the two ſecretaries of ſtate, in conjunction with Prior, to treat in her name with Menager, the French plenipotentiary, and to ſign ſuch inſtruments as ſhould be agreed to. This formality was ſuppoſed to be neceſſary, to ſcreen the Engliſh negotiators from any inquiries they might have reaſon to apprehend, or from being impeached hereafter for having treated with the enemies of their country without any legal power, and even when the queen's orders were not ſo much as counterſigned. This reaſoning was not ſolid; the verbal order of a ſovereign is ſufficient to juſtify a ſecretary of ſtate, who tranſacts affairs in his maſter's name; but the enemies of the miniſtry, thought of nothing but of raiſing difficulties to croſs the negotiation, or at leaſt to retard its ſucceſs. Hence they prevented the commiſſion, under the great ſeal, from paſſing. The queen being in a bad ſtate of health, they hoped the time would come, and was not far off, when they ſhould not only ſubvert, but be amply revenged of the preſent adminiſtration. The two ſecretaries of ſtate, received only a written order, from the queen, and directed to either of them to ſign the articles agreed upon. In virtue of this order, they ſigned three

three inſtruments with Menager the 8th of October.

The firſt written in two columns, contained on one ſide, the conditions demanded by the Engliſh, and on the other the king's anſwers. The two ſecretaries of ſtate declared at the bottom of this inſtrument, that it was in virtue of an expreſs order from the queen their miſtreſs, that they accepted of the ſaid articles as preliminaries.

The ſecond related to the duke of Savoy, an article ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon by the miniſters of Great Britain.

The conditions propoſed by France, for attaining a general peace, were comprized in the third inſtrument, ſo that both ſides agreed to an equitable baſis of peace, very different from thoſe odious preliminaries, which ſeemed to have been ſpawned by the demon of diſcord.

There had been no mention hitherto made to Menager, of introducing him to the queen. After they had ſigned, and when the miniſters withdrew, Prior gave him notice in St. John's name to ſet out the next day for Windſor. Accordingly he went. St. John conducted him privately to the queen's apartment at eight o'clock in the evening. They aſcended by a back ſtairs, without meeting any body but two centinels, and in the antichamber one of the queen's favourite attendants.

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The queen received Menager very graciouſly: ſhe charged him to preſent her compliments to the king, and to aſſure him that ſhe would forget nothing to accelerate the general peace.

After this ſhe ſaid. 'I do not like war; I 'ſhall do all in my power, to conclude a peace 'as ſoon as poſſible. I ſhould be glad to live 'upon good terms with the king, to whom I 'am ſo nearly allied in blood, and I hope that 'there will be a cloſer union, after the peace, be-'tween us and between our ſubjects, by means of 'a perfect correſpondence and friendſhip.'

Menager was conducted back with the ſame ſecrecy, as he had been introduced. The ſame attendant, was in the outer apartment. He found the ſame centinels. He ſupped with St. John, ſaw Windſor caſtle the next day, and ſet out for London with Prior, who warned him not to return to the ſecretary of ſtate, while he ſtaid at court, becauſe of the great number of ſpies, whom the whigs had about the queen. The miniſters then in favour with that princeſs, had great reaſon to be afraid of what might happen hereafter, and therefore thought it neceſſary to act with prudence and circumſpection. They ſaw the importance of this meaſure in 1714, when the duke of Hanover aſcended the Britiſh throne, in virtue of the famous act of ſettlement in favour of the Proteſtant line.

When Menager got back to London, he went the 13th of November in the evening with Gaultier

Gaultier to Prior's, where he found the earl of Oxford. This miniſter told him, that the queen was very well ſatisfied with the articles ſtipulated on both ſides. He aſſured him that ſhe was ſincerely and even ardently deſirous of peace, and that ſhe was perſwaded the king deſired it with the ſame ſincerity as herſelf; and making uſe of a Latin quotation, he ſaid, *ex duabus igitur gentibus faciamus unam gentem amiciſſimam.* He added that Buys was coming, notwithſtanding what the queen had done to keep him in Holland. I am not ſorry ſaid Oxford, he ſhould hear from the queen's own mouth, how deſirous ſhe is of peace. She will expreſs her ſentiments with ſuch firmneſs as will ſet them beyond all doubt. I refer you to what Mr. St. John, who will be here preſently, ſhall tell you of the matter. He is to inform you of the meaſures taken to open the conferences. In a word, you may aſſure the king, that his Majeſty ſhall be ſatisfied with us, and we hope, that he will be ſo good as to ſatisfy us alſo.

As ſoon as the lord treaſurer was gone, St. John who was juſt come, told Menager, that the earl of Strafford, the queen's ambaſſadour to the States-General, had taken leave of her Majeſty to return to his ſtation; that he would take ſhipping in two days at furtheſt, and immediately after his arrival at the Hague he would acquaint the penſionary of Holland with the general propoſals of peace made by France; that he ſhould

ſhould tell the penſionary, that the queen found them reaſonable; that it was reſolved not to hold the conferences in any town belonging to the province of Holland; therefore he ſhould propoſe Nimeguen, Utrecht, Liege, or Aix-la-Chapelle, to chooſe one of thoſe for the place where the plenipotentiaries were to meet.

St. John informed Menager, that the queen had appointed hers. 'The firſt, ſaid he, is 'Robinſon biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy ſeal; 'he is a true Engliſhman, underſtands buſineſs, 'is an honeſt man, and has a great command 'of temper; he reſided two and thirty years 'at the northern courts, and compromiſed the 'differences betwixt Sweden and Danemark.

'The ſecond is the earl of Strafford, our pre-'ſent ambaſſador to Holland. This lord is as 'as well cut out for making ſhort work with 'buſineſs as a colonel of Dragoons. He will 'quickly execute the queen's orders.

'Prior is to be the third plenipotentiary. I 'ſhall ſay nothing of his character, or of his in-'tentions; you know him, and he is known in 'France. I ſhall take care to draw up their 'inſtructions. Ceaſe for one moment to be a 'miniſter of France, be witneſs only to our 'plain dealing and to our ſincere deſire of 'peace: make a faithful report to your court 'at your return; but take notice that we 'cannot depart from decency in regard to our 'allies. This is our principle in ſending the

'earl

'earl of Rivers, at the ſame time that Strafford 'ſets out for Holland, on purpoſe to aſſure 'the duke of Hanover, that we are determined 'to maintain the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line.

'Neither can we help uſing our endeavours 'that Holland and the empire ſhall obtain a 'ſafe and reaſonable barrier, ſuch as the king 'has been pleaſed to promiſe.

'A third point, which we have greatly at 'heart, is the poſſeſſion of the advantages ſti-'pulated in favour of England, by the articles 'which the king has granted us.

'Rather than give up theſe three points, we 'muſt reſolve to ſee our country exhauſted by the 'war; but we hope that what has been promiſed, 'will be faithfully executed. France muſt there-'fore be ſteady and condeſcending: ſteady to 'oppoſe the Dutch, if they ſhould form any 'diſpute about the advantages propoſed to Eng-'land; condeſcending in regard to certain articles, 'which muſt be granted for the ſake of peace.'

Menager objected againſt any ſuch condeſcen-ſion, knowing that the Dutch would abuſe it, as they had ſo often done. 'They have had 'notice, replied St. John, and we have de-'clared to them, more than once, that after 'the immenſe expences which England has 'been at, ſhe thinks herſelf intitled to fix 'their pretended barrier. It is not our intereſt 'that it ſhould be either ſo extenſive or ſo 'ſtrong. In ſhort, let us lay a ſide the uſual

'artifices

'artifices and delays of negotiations, and go 'immediately to the point. The buſineſs is to 'conclude a peace, and to conclude it quickly, 'in order to avoid the expences of another cam-'paign. We are ſure of our parliament, they 'will act in concert with the queen. She has 'ordered the earl of Strafford to demand of the 'States General, the neceſſary paſsports for the 'king's plenipotentiaries, and to ſend them to 'France by an expreſs.'

HAVING taken leave of each other, St. John informed Menager, that her majeſty had given orders for a meſſenger to go over with him to Calais, judging ſuch precaution neceſſary to avoid any diſappointment; that this ſame meſſenger ſhould wait at Calais for the king's anſwers, and bring them with him to London.

After St. John went out, Prior being left alone with Menager, entered into a high panegyric of the lord Treaſurer. He commended his love of peace, his ſteadineſs, the intrepidity with which he had withſtood the council, and ſettled the queen's reſolution, to ſuch a degree as to ſilence whoſoever ſhould dare to oppoſe her ſentiments. In ſhort he affirmed, that her majeſty was ſo ſincerely deſirous of coming to a concluſion, that ſhe would propoſe Dover or even London, for holding the

conferences, ſhould the Dutch be ſo ill adviſed as to form any idle difficulties.

THE Lord treaſurer and St. John were not ſatisfied with aſſuring Menager by word of mouth, of the ſincerity of the queen's intentions; they repeated the ſame proteſtations, when they took the opportunity of his return to France, to write to the king's miniſter for foreign affairs. From that time they ſecretly kept up a direct correſpondence during the whole courſe of the negotiation at Utrecht. The lord treaſurer foreſaw, that this correſpondence in time of war would be deemed a crime, for which he ſhould be called ſome time or other to an account; therefore he did not chooſe that Menager ſhould know of his having wrote the letter; but gave it to Gaultier, and particularly recommended to him that no body but the king ſhould know any thing of it.

THIS miniſter, who at that time was in the higheſt degree of credit with the queen, obtained of her Majeſty, as a favour done to the king, to permit Marſhal Tallard to go over to France, for four months on his parole, in order to ſettle his private affairs.

THIS general had been carried priſoner to England after the unfortunate battle of Hochſtet. The town of Nottingham was the place of his confinement. He had the liberty of walking about

about and of hunting in the neighbourhood, but was obliged to come back at night; beſides he was ſo narrowly watched, that he felt the whole weight of his captivity. Several officers taken on the ſame occaſion, and carried over to England, were ſuffered to go back to France upon their parole. The duke of Malborough had almoſt engaged in 1709, during the conferences of the Hague, to obtain the ſame favour for Marſhal Tallard; but after the diſſolution of thoſe conferences, the Engliſh government continued to treat him with the ſame rigour. They were afraid of his great penetration, and ſagacity; and that notwithſtanding the precautions taken to debar him of any intelligence, he ſhould be too well acquainted with the internal ſtate of the kingdom. The more they thought him capable of ſetting on foot and of conducting a ſecret negotiation, the more ſcrupulous they were in depriving him of every means of attaining his end.

It is an error excuſable in ſome writers of memoirs, who from probable circumſtances, but uninformed of the real truth, have ventured to aſſert, that marſhal Tallard, during his confinement in England, made the firſt overtures of peace. This is not the only falſity that has been publiſhed for truth. The abbe Gaultier had the honour of being the firſt that broke the ice, and in juſtice to his memory we ought to commend his prudent judgment, and the

good intelligence he gave during the whole courſe of the negotiation, without abuſing the confidence of the Engliſh miniſters.

No ſooner was Menager gone, than news came of the miſcarriage of the Engliſh expedition to Canada. The members of the privy council employed at the conferences, ſeemed ſo confident of the ſucceſs of this enterprize, that they conſtantly inſiſted on keeping Quebec, believing that it was then in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. They were diſappointed; Brigadier Hill loſt ſeven tranſports with five and twenty companies of the beſt troops under his command. Thus ended this difficulty in regard to the poſſeſſion of Quebec.

The earl of Strafford who ſet out for Holland much about the ſame time that Menager returned to France, had orders to acquaint the penſionary with the ſtate of the negotiation commenced at London, and to inform him of what had paſſed betwixt the queen's miniſters and Menager; to explain the reaſons which had hitherto hindered her majeſty from communicating the negotiation to the States-General; in a word, he was to declare, that her majeſty had been ſatisfied with agreeing to general conditions in favour of her allies, merely to avoid determining their pretenſions and intereſts, but to leave them at full liberty to ſettle their own affairs at the conferences of peace. That her intention was to act in concert with her allies, without the

the leaſt notion of ſeparating herſelf from them, and that to avoid giving any ſuſpicion, ſhe had refuſed to treat of the general peace in England.

STRAFFORD was to aſſure the penſionary, that the queen his miſtreſs had ſtipulated nothing in favour of her ſubjects, that was prejudicial to the Dutch; that no offers from France ſhould induce her to conclude a peace, unleſs the Republic was ſatisfied in regard to the articles of her barrier, of her commerce, and her other pretenſions.

THAT ſo much deference to her allies, together with what England had done for them during the whole courſe of the war, would ſufficiently juſtify the queen of Great Britain, even if ſhe were to think it prudent to ſettle the intereſts of her ſubjects, previous to any other article of the negotiation; yet ſhe would only obſerve, that it would be a juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the Dutch, ſhould they continue to expreſs any marks of diffidence in regard to her conduct; that if they would take her advice, they ſhould lower their pretenſions in regard to the article of the barrier, and compound for ſuch a part as was reaſonable and ſufficient for the ſecurity of the ſtate, rather than obſtinately to inſiſt upon the whole.

THAT ſhe ſhould give the ſame advice to the Imperialiſts, or to any of the allies, who ſhould have recourſe to the preliminaries

of

of 1709, and reject every other propoſals. That if the Dutch were ſo obſtinately bent upon maintaining thoſe preliminaries, as to chooſe rather to continue the war than to give them up, ſhe declared that England was no longer able to bear ſo heavy a burden, ſince the allies did not contribute their proportion of the charge and labour, but on every ſide were deficient in their engagements; that ſhe would give them their choice, either regularly to furniſh their quota of troops, and ſhips, or to conclude a peace.

Out of the ſeveral towns propoſed by his majeſty for holding the conferences, the queen of England choſe Utrecht. The earl of Strafford was to acquaint the penſionary with this reſolution, to ſollicit the conſent of the States, and to procure the paſsports for the king's plenipotentiaries, ſo that the conferences ſhould be opened the 12th of January of the following year 1712.

The queen had ordered her ambaſſador to ſend thoſe paſsports to Verſailles, as ſoon they were delivered into his hands; at that time the neceſſary confidence for the conſummation of ſo important a work, was reciprocally eſtabliſhed betwixt the miniſters of France and England.

This was a circumſtance infinitely diſagreeable to the enemies of reconciliation, but eſpecially to the men in Holland who governed

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that commonwealth. They were not diſpoſed to forward the paſsports with that diligence, as the queen of Great Britain expected; this delay however only ſuſpended the opening of the conferences, but did not break off the negotiation. The Dutch wanted to take advantage, if poſſible, of this interval, for creating a diffidence betwixt France and England, and for ſetting them at variance. A report was induſtriouſly ſpread in London, that France and Holland were upon the point of renewing a ſecret negotiation, the king being convinced that this was the only way to conclude peace.

THE Engliſh miniſtry conceived ſome inquietude at this report; but it was ſoon diſpelled upon ſeeing the inſtructions ſent to the abbé Gaultier, who was left by himſelf in London, with the whole care of the negotiation, after Menager's departure. His majeſty ordered him to aſſure Oxford and St. John in his name, that all the artifices employed by the common enemy, were incapable of ſhaking his conſtancy; that he continued in the ſame ſentiments, none but theſe being conſiſtent with the general good of Europe; therefore he depended on an equal ſteadineſs in the queen of Great Britain. Gaultier putting the Engliſh miniſtry in mind of the behaviour of the Dutch at the preceding conferences, ſoon convinced them that the Republic did not deſerve the leaſt complaiſance from the king, and that it would be a great condeſcenſion, if his majeſty granted her

thoſe advantages, which for the ſake of peace he could not refuſe the queen.

He made thoſe miniſters allow that it was from the allies the king ought to expect an equivalent for the demolition of Dunkirk, in proportion to the damage which France ſhould ſuſtain by diſmantling that town, to which the king had conſented at the preſſing inſtances of the queen, as a convincing proof of his friendſhip for her majeſty. This equivalent, which had been already talked of, was to conſiſt of ſome of the ſtrong towns ſpecified in Flanders, which the enemy had taken during the war.

In regard to the articles which Menager ſigned at London, as there remained but a few difficulties about the terms *America on the North Sea*, Gaultier purſuant to his orders, promiſed both the Engliſh miniſters that thoſe terms ſhould be explained to their ſatisfaction. He aſſured them of the confidence which his majeſty repoſed in the uprightneſs of their intentions, and confirmed thoſe aſſurances by letters from the ſecretary of ſtate, written by his majeſty's orders. Thus the ſeveral articles ſigned at London by Menager were approved, and his negotiation was made the ground work of thoſe inſtructions, which the king ſome time afterwards gave to his plenipotentiaries for the general peace.

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THE opening of the conferences at Utrecht was drawing near, for it had been fixed to the 12th of January, and it was now the end of the month of November 1711. But the Dutch, or rather the leading men in that Republic, who were desirous of continuing the war, found it difficult to change their sentiments. They were loath to descend from the high state to which they had been raised for some years, of arbiters of Europe, of disposers of kingdoms, who imposed laws even on the greatest monarchs; so that interest and passion contributed to feed those flattering ideas. The preliminaries of 1709, the work of Heinsius, were looked upon as a rule, from which the States General could not deviate, without exposing their country to ruin, and all Europe to be enslaved by the house of Bourbon. Their conversations at the Hague, generally turned on the necessity of making fresh efforts, and of pushing the war with greater vigour. They railed against the conduct of the new ministry in England, as unjust and perfidious. They would fain imagine, or they wanted to make the people imagine, that the body of the English nation, would oblige the traitors to break of all negotiations of peace. Buys, the Dutch envoy in England, was looked upon as an useful engine, from whose artifices and intrigues, they expected more than from his harangues.

Buys's chief commiſſion at London, was to blow the coals, and by any means whatſoever to procure a change of miniſtry. This man eaſily believing what he ardently deſired, was ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that he ſaid before his departure for England, that as ſoon as he could have a private audience of the queen, ſhe would diſcard all her new miniſters.

The king being well informed of what was ſaid at the Hague, ordered theſe advices to be communicated to the queen's miniſters, at the ſame time deſiring to know what reſolution her majeſty would take, in caſe the States-General ſhould continue to refuſe, or to delay the paſsports demanded by the Engliſh ambaſſador.

The way to puniſh them if they ſhould be ſo obſtinate as to retard the conferences, was to let the negotiation be conducted entirely by the plenipotentiaries of France and Great Britain, who might regulate the ſeveral articles of the general peace, and deprive the Dutch of the privilege they had aſſumed of ſettling the fate of Europe. The king offered to ſend his plenipotentiaries over to England, if the queen deſired it: he offered further, that as ſoon as all the articles of peace were ſettled at thoſe private conferences, the Engliſh ſhould from that very inſtant enjoy the privileges ſtipulated in favour of their nation, purſuant to the convention ſigned by Menager.

About

About this time the earl of Peterborough paſſing through Frankfort, ſaid that England would not think of peace, if the emperor would but march part of his forces in Hungary, to the banks of the Rhine, or to the Netherlands. Peterborough's character was well known; a man of a luxuriant fancy, unconfined by truth. He affected to know ſecrets which were carefully concealed from him, and to make people believe, that the queen of England and her miniſters never determined matters but in concert with him, and agreeably to his opinion. His ſpeeches occaſioned neither inquietude nor ſuſpicion in regard to the ſincerity of the queen's miniſters. The king only gave notice of them to Oxford. The communication by letters, betwixt the miniſters of both courts, was continued with leſs reſerve ſince the ſigning of the articles. Menager brought paſsports with him from London, for the ſecurity of couriers from Calais to Dover, and from Dover to Calais.

Yet as it might ſo fall out that Oxford and St. John, rather than explain themſelves at large by letter, would chooſe to inform the abbé Gaultier of their intentions, and to ſend him over to France with a verbal meſſage, the king commanded him to conform to whatever they ſhould think proper, and to ſet out as ſoon as ever they deſired him.

It

It was not long before they begged he would undertake another journey to Verſailles, to deliver a memorial to the king, and to bring back an anſwer.

This memorial contained the eclairciſſments which his majeſty had demanded of the queen of of England, either in regard to the ſteps ſhe had taken in Holland, and to what ſhe thought of the ſentiments of the Dutch; or in reſpect to her own intentions, and to what ſhe might judge proper to be done, in order to overcome the obſtinacy of the Dutch, and to bend their minds to pacific ſentiments. It was particularly mentioned, that as ſoon as lord Strafford arrived at the Hague, he had propoſed opening the conferences immediately; that the States-General made anſwer, that the propoſals of France, communicated by the queen of Great Britain, *were inſufficient*, that the Republic could not proceed before ſhe knew the effect of the remonſtrances, which Buys had been ordered to make to the queen.

These pretended remonſtrances were made. The purpoſe of them was to repreſent her majeſty, that the Republic, though ready to concur to the general peace, was ſtill of opinion that it would be running too great a riſk to open the conferences, before the articles propoſed by France, were more particularly explained, and rendered more ſpecific.

The memorial added, that the queen notwithſtanding theſe repreſentations, ſtill perſiſted in her

her reſolution of opening the conferences immediately, upon the baſis of the preliminaries ſigned at London. She had therefore given a poſitive anſwer to Buys, that thoſe articles contained in general all the pretenſions that the allies could reaſonably form, and that judging them to be ſpecific and ſufficient, ſhe had repeated her orders to the earl of Strafford, to preſs the opening of the conferences, that the town where they were to be held ſhould be named, and the paſsports made out for the French plenipotentiaries.

She deſired however, as an expedient which ſhe thought neceſſary, for promoting her good deſign, that his majeſty would aſſiſt her, by entruſting her with his ſecret reſolution in regard to the particular intereſts of each of the allies; her aim was to avail herſelf of this intelligence, in order to make them join the more eaſily in the general negotiation. She hoped to make an excellent uſe of it, and to render it ſubſervient to the public good.

She would have been therefore glad that the king would permit her to aſſure the Dutch, without any danger of being contradicted, that his majeſty, out of regard to peace, would reeſtabliſh the tariff of 1664 in their favour, and that they ſhould have ſuch a barrier as the king would be pleaſed to communicate to the queen.

She deſired likewiſe to be authoriſed in his majeſty's name, to promiſe a barrier to the duke of Savoy on the ſide of France, without prejudice to the advantages, which their majeſties ſhould jointly endeavour to procure for him on the ſide of Italy.

This prince was England's favourite ally, whom the miniſtry was moſt deſirous of befriending. They were perſuaded that if the Republic of Holland and the duke of Savoy would act in concert with the queen, it would ſoon be eaſy to remove the chief difficulties that retarded the peace.

Besides ſatisfying theſe principal allies, the memorial mentioned that it would be likewiſe neceſſary to pleaſe the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Hanover, by acknowledging the title of king of Pruſſia which the former had aſſumed, and that of elector which the latter had obtained of the emperor.

The queen of England's intention in demanding ſuch marks of confidence of the king, was to obviate the delays of negotiation: as ſhe was perſuaded that the king and herſelf had entirely the ſame view, ſo ſhe believed his majeſty would be in no pain about her diſcretion, ſince ſhe gave him the moſt poſitive and repeated aſſurances, that ſhe would not diſcloſe to any body, the confidence which his majeſty would pleaſe to repoſe in her, proteſting ſhe would make no other uſe of it than to promote the peace

peace, an event which both ſides ſo juſtly deſired.

THIS memorial was delivered to the abbé Gaultier, and at the ſame time the two miniſters were pleaſed to entruſt him with their letters.

THE earl of Oxford referred to the memorial, and eſpecially to what the bearer ſhould ſay by word of mouth. He gave aſſurances that the queen his miſtreſs perſiſted in her reſolution, of doing every thing in her power to attain a good and laſting peace, ſo that neither foreign artifices, nor domeſtic animoſities ſhould ever induce her to change opinion. 'She has declared her mind, continued 'he, to Buys, referring to the final anſwer, 'which the earl of Strafford was to give in her 'behalf to the States-General. I dare add '(theſe are the high treaſure's own words) 'that whatever difficulties her ſervants may 'meet in their way, you will find them ſteady 'and reſolute in executing their miſtreſs's 'orders.'

THE ſame lord proteſted, that the queen was extremely obliged to his majeſty, for the offer he had made of ſending his plenipotentiaries to England, to treat of a general peace. He was of opinion however that the propoſals contained in the memorial, which they had delivered to the abbé Gaultier, would be a ſurer way to produce the deſired effect, and

and that the conferences ſhould be opened without loſs of time.

'In regard to himſelf, he ſhould pay his court 'but very indifferently to the queen, if he did not 'do all that lay in his power, to cultivate that 'friendſhip and good underſtanding, on which 'the liberty and repoſe of Europe depended.'

ST. JOHN's letter on the ſame occaſion, was written in terms equally nervous and expreſſive with thoſe of lord Oxford's. He referred, like him, to the memorial; as well as to the account which Gaultier ſhould give, concerning the preſent ſtate of the important buſineſs of peace. He gave aſſurances of the queen's ſincerity, and ſpared no pains to ſet the ſeveral proofs of her intentions, in the cleareſt light. He owned, that in England, as well as in other countries, the malecontents were uſing all their endeavours to ſpread the ſeeds of diſtruſt. Yet, ſaid he, we need be in no pain about their endeavours, ſince it is in the king's power to defeat them all. He obſerved that this would be the conſequence of the eclairciſſments deſired of his majeſty, and which he had been pleaſed to promiſe; that they would diſpell all hovering the clouds; and that the queen's miniſters would make ſo prudent an uſe of ſuch intelligence, that if his majeſty would, as heretofore, offer a plan of ſpecific preliminaries, the queen would never ſhew it to her allies; ſo that the eclairciſſments, which Gaultier

tier was to bring with him to London, were impatiently deſired, eſpecially as St. John engaged, that when they came, the parliament which was juſt ready to ſit, would be as inclinable to peace as ever it had been to war.

FROM the known ſincerity of this miniſter, there was no room to doubt but he wrote his real ſentiments, of the preſent diſpoſition of the Engliſh nation: but though peace was much wiſhed for in that kingdom, yet the credit of thoſe who oppoſed it was not demoliſhed; they were ſpurred on by intereſt and paſſion againſt the new miniſtry, whom they hoped to ruin, if they could but contrive to protract the war.

BUYS and the other miniſters of the allies, grounded all their expectations on this inveterate hatred of the whigs againſt the new miniſters.

THE former before he left the Hague, had boaſted that the queen would not withſtand his eloquent remonſtrances a ſingle moment. He was diſappointed in his expectations; for the queen told him with her own mouth, that ſhe would have peace, and that ſhe inſiſted the Dutch ſhould immediately ceaſe to oppoſe the opening of the conferences.

NOR was he better ſatisfied with the anſwers given him by the chief miniſter, the high treaſurer; which were agreeable to the declarations of the queen his miſtreſs. He was likewiſe

diſpleaſed at the lord treaſurer's charging the Republic of Holland, with not having fulfilled her engagements for five years, and with not contributing her proportion of the charge and labour of the war, purſuant to the articles of the grand alliance. To this charge Oxford added a very embaraſſing queſtion, 'are your 'maſters, ſaid he to Buys, in a condition to, 'make amends for paſt deficiences, and to fulfill 'henceforward their engagements.'

This queſtion got the better of the Dutchman's vanity. He was obliged to yield to the force of truth, and to acknowledge, that it was not in the power of the Republic to fulfill her engagements henceforward; deſpairing therefore, to perſuade by argument, which carries no conviction but when founded on truth, he had recourſe to other methods, firmly believing that his only way to ſucceed was to aſſociate with the whigs, and to enter into a cloſe connexion with thoſe foreign miniſters, who were diſſatisfied with the government.

One of the principal of thoſe miniſters was count Galas, properly the emperor's ambaſſador, but acknowledged at London in he quality of miniſter from the archduke, as king of Spain. He paſſed for a man of abilities, and one of the moſt artful politicans that the court of Vienna employed in foreign courts. He had been long enough in England to be acquainted with the nature of the government, with the credit and character

racter of thoſe who had the principal ſhare in the adminiſtration, and with the genius and temper of the nation. Yet he was out in his politics: but in order to ſet his errors in their true light, it will be proper to aſcend to the year 1710, and to ſhew in what manner this miniſter, of a boaſted prudence and ſagacity ſquared his conduct.

GALAS having been accuſtomed to ſee the whole authority of the government in the hands of the whigs, had always imagined that nothing could ſhake their power, ſo that when he was told this very year that Sunderland and Godolphin would ſoon be turned out, he gave no ſort of credit to the intelligence, till it was verified by the event. In like manner he treated as a falſe prediction, the notice that was given him of the approaching diſſolution of the parliament, and of the proclamation for a new one, where the court and the new miniſtry would have a majority.

IN ſhort, being prejudiced that England, of all the allies the moſt ſanguine for continuing the war, would never depart from her engagements, he could not perſuade himſelf that ſhe would alter her principles, even if the tories, though diametrically oppoſite to the whigs, were to ſtand their ground and maintain themſelves quietly in the adminiſtration.

NEITHER could he believe that the queen was able to bring the tories into play. He ſaw the

oppoſite party ſtill in poſſeſſion of the great offices, with the moneyed intereſt on their ſide. He thought that theſe were ſtrong ſhackles, from which it would be extremely difficult for that princeſs to get looſe, notwithſtanding her inclination to the tories, and the inſtructions ſhe received at her ſecret conferences with Harley. Galas deſpiſed the intrigues of a man, whom he looked upon as a dirty fellow and of mean extraction.

NUMBERS of the whigs were of the ſame opinion as Galas, and conſidered the report of a ſpeedy and intire change as abſolutely groundleſs. Yet this report was of too great importance to be neglected. Therefore to diſperſe the ſtorm, which began to thicken, the allied miniſters at the court of England, unanimouſly reſolved to write to their maſters, for poſitive orders to make ſtrong repreſentations to the queen, that her majeſty could not change her miniſters without doing a conſiderable injury to the common cauſe.

COUNT MAFFEI was then envoy from the duke of Savoy, to the court of London; a miniſter not inferior in cunning and addreſs to his maſter. He had been long employed in the ſame capacity during the late king William's reign. He had had experience of the temper of the Engliſh, ſufficient to convince him, that it could not be agreeable to the queen, nor

nor ſerviceable to the ſtate, to be obliged to chooſe her miniſters, according to the affection, or diſlike, or caprice of a foreign power. Directed by this principle, Maffei refuſed to enter into the propoſed aſſociation.

THE Miniſtry however were changed as hath been above related. Galas imagining that the queen could not withſtand his remonſtrances, obtained a private audience of her majeſty, when he ſpoke to her with ſuch warmth, that the new miniſtry, whom he attacked perſonally, would have immediately inſiſted upon the emperor's diſowning his indiſcreet ſpeeches, and recalling him, had they believed themſelves ſtrong enough to venture on a ſtep of that nature.

GALAS judged they would never forgive him, and though he had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with the queen's anſwer, which was worded in kind terms, he begged of the archduke to grant him his diſmiſſion with the government of Limburg, as an honorable pretext to conceal the real motive of his being recalled. He obtained both, and count Kinſki was appointed to ſucceed him. This removal did not ſuit the whigs, who had more deſigns than one. The late remonſtrances were not ſufficient; they imagined that Galas's longer ſtay would be neceſſary for completing the execution of their projects. Hence they applied to prince Eugene, repreſenting to him the dangerous conſequences of recalling that ambaſſador at ſuch a critical juncture. They de-

clared that as they had an intire confidence in Galas, it would be the emperor's intereſt to let him continue in England; in conſequence whereof he was deſired to ſtay till further orders.

THE emperor Joſeph was ſtill living. The king of Spain having loſt the battle of Saragoſſa, it was thought that the archduke would meet with no further obſtacle to ſtop the progreſs of his arms. Galas believing that this prince would inſtantly reap the fruit of his victory, was willing to try, whether this event, in appearance ſo deciſive, would not induce Harley to change ſentiments in regard to the houſe of Auſtria. He ſeemed pleaſed with the Engliſh miniſter's ſpeeches, but ſo far was he from being ſatisfied with his actions, that he wrote to Vienna, calling Harley a knave, and in the main an enemy to the imperial court. Yet he thought it right to keep fair with him and with the new miniſters, ſince he could not obtain his ends of deſtroying them. As he did not deſpair of gaining his point, this ſeeming regard was carried ſo far as to alarm the whigs, ſo that Marlborough and Godolphin waited on Galas, to know the reaſon of ſuch a change of behaviour, and ſuch complaiſance 'for thoſe beings of a day, who never would 'be his friends, fellows intirely buſied about 'their paltry intereſts, ready to ſacrifice the 'common cauſe to France, as ſoon they found 'them-

'themſelves ſtrong enough to pull off the maſk, 'and to drop all ſhew of attachment to the con-'federate powers: for there was not the leaſt 'doubt but the new miniſters had already 'opened a ſecret correſpondence with France, 'but they were not gone ſo far yet, as they in-'tended. Before they obtained their aim, it 'would be poſſible to throw ſuch difficulties in 'their way, as might defeat their deſigns.'

THE promiſes of two ſuch great men as Marlborough and Godolphin, inſpired Galas with freſh courage, ſo as to engage to do 'whatever either his duty, or juſtice, as they 'called it, or good policy required of him, in 'ſupport of every meaſure his maſter's friends 'ſhould undertake for the advantage of the 'grand alliance?' He entered into a cloſer connexion than ever with the whigs, joined in all their ſchemes, and aſſented to every thing they aſked, with the greater readineſs, as he had taken notice of the cold behaviour of the new miniſtry, who were well acquainted with the private connexions between him and the party that oppoſed the court.

THEIR buſineſs now was to lay down plans for continuing the war. Galas promiſed he would preſent the projects drawn up by Marlborough and Godolphin, in the emperor's name. They were to be ſo plauſible, and to bid ſo fair for ſucceſs, that the new miniſtry durſt not contradict them; and ſhould they have the front

to make any oppoſition, the rejecting a ſure and evident ſcheme for the reduction of France, would draw the general hatred of the nation, on the miniſters who had given ſuch evil counſels to the queen.

THEIR enemies, in order to render them odious, ſuppoſed a negotiation, which was not ſet on foot as yet; for the abbé Gaultier did not mention the ſubject, and that in very general terms, till the month of January 1711. and it was now about the end of the year 1710. Indeed the Engliſh miniſtry, deſirous of peace, and knowing that ſome of the allies were as deſirous, and had as much need of it as England, were afraid leſt they ſhould be before hand with the queen their miſtreſs, with a view to obtain the reward, which the king would not refuſe to the firſt power that would quit the grand alliance.

THE duke of Savoy, the beſt treated of them all, was the moſt ſuſpected by the court of Vienna. The more this court had yielded to the importunity of England and Holland in making advantageous conceſſions to that prince, the more they entertained a jealouſy of his ſincerity, and that he would have recourſe to ſecret intrigues, in order to obtain perhaps by contrary treaties, a confirmation of the conditions, which he had extorted from his Imperial majeſty. Galas had particular orders to watch Maſſei's motions very narrowly, and to diſcover what propoſals

poſals he might make to the court of England.

THE court of Vienna was grown ſuſpicious of all the allies, perſuaded that their chief aim was to obtain advantageous terms, in proportion to their eagerneſs in ſeparating themſelves from the grand alliance.

THEY had the ſame jealouſy in regard to the king of Portugal, as to the duke of Savoy and Galas was continually writing to Vienna, of a ſecret negotiation betwixt France and England. Yet there was no ſuch thing; for the abbé Gaultier had not been yet ſent to France. Notwithſtanding theſe ſuſpicions, the count did not diſcover, either Gaultier's firſt excurſions to Paris, or the trip which Prior made to Fontainbleau the month of July 1712.

THIS uneaſineſs of the German miniſter, ſuited the whigs; and accordingly they ſpared no obtained pains to foment it. The earl of Strafford had obtained leave in 1710, to return to England, about his private affairs. This was a freſh ſubject of alarm to Galas, who made not the leaſt doubt, but that Strafford, under the pretence of private affairs, was come over to London, in order to receive verbal inſtructions from the new miniſters, for concluding a ſeparate peace with France.

IN a word he poſitively aſſured the Imperial miniſters at Vienna and in Holland, that the expedition againſt Canada, was a concerted

ſcheme

ſcheme between France and England, for he ſuppoſed it to have been ceded to the latter by an article of the treaty of peace.

THIS falſe intelligence was generally interlarded with violent declamations againſt the treachery of the Engliſh. The moſt odious and moſt abuſive epithets were beſtowed on Oxford and St. John, and to ſpeak even moſt favourably of them, he was of opinion, he ſaid, that if they did not betray their country, yet they were unequal in abilities to their predeceſſors, ſince they ſeemed to ſink under the weight of a war, which the others had ſo glorioufly maintained during the courſe of their adminiſtration.

ON this occaſion a multitude of libels were written in London, and ſent abroad to Holland and Germany, where they were printed.

THE firſt propoſals of peace had been made, and the negotiation actually ſet on foot, when the emperor Joſeph died in the month of April 1711. This ſudden event diſconcerted the projects of war, without abating the animoſity of its advocates. Galas was preparing to draw up a long muſter roll of his new maſter's forces; but his ſcheme was not approved of by count Zintzendorff, whom he had conſulted, before he laid before the queen a pretended calculation of the archdukes troops, amounting, as he ſaid, to fourſcore thouſand men.

HE thought it would be prudent to alter his behaviour in regard to the Engliſh miniſtry; eſpecially

eſpecially at a juncture, when the archduke ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of her Britannic majeſty and of her allies, to obtain the Imperial dignity.

THIS prince was at that time greatly puzzled about what part he ſhould take, either to ſet out for Germany, or to continue in Barcellona. The former would have been agreeable to the intereſt he had to be elected to the Imperial dignity. The empreſs his mother, regent of the hereditary ſtates of Auſtria, together with the council of Vienna, preſſed him to make all the haſte he could to his dominions, and to leave the archdutcheſs his wife at Barcellona. They were all afraid leſt France ſhould ſucceed in the negotiations, which ſhe would certainly ſet on foot, to exclude him from a dignity become in ſome meaſure hereditary in his family.

THE archduke perſuaded it would be giving up the cauſe, were he to remove out of Spain, at a time when his rival had ſo greatly the advantage of him, was loath to reſign the prize of ſo long and bloody a conteſt, by relinquiſhing Spain for the ſake of the Imperial crown. At length he reſolved to follow the queen of England's advice in this important debate; which his ambaſſador knowing, endeavoured to be reconciled to her miniſters. This was very near the time, when Prior returned from France,

France, and brought Menager and the abbé Gaultier along with him.

The lord Treaſurer judged that this was an improper ſeaſon to provoke Galas. The ſudden affability of the Engliſh miniſter deceived the ambaſſador; hence he aſſured his maſter that the miniſtry had intirely altered their minds; that a peace with France was quite out of the queſtion, and that the Treaſurer began to talk of another campaign: in ſhort diſowning all that he had wrote before, from falſe informations, he made an excuſe for the account he had given of a ſecret treaty with France, alledging that his duty obliged him to make a report of what he heard. But he was ſoon obliged to make quite a different apology. The conferences between Menager and the queen's miniſters, with the conditions propoſed and agreed to, did not remain long a ſecret; and then he found he muſt talk in another ſtrain. He proteſted therefore that his maſter would ſooner die with ſword in hand, than reſign his pretenſions to Spain, or be ſatisfied with that part of Italy, which was already in his poſſeſſion. He then ſaw there was nothing elſe to be done, but to proteſt againſt the peace, and againſt any meeting whatſoever to treat or confer about it. Thus his laſt reſource being proteſts, he wanted the duke of Hanover to make one, and the other princes of the empire to follow his example: if this would not do, he imagined that at leaſt the

the time he ſhould gain, would be productive of incidents capable of changing the face of affairs in England.

THE enemies of the government had been ſome time hatching a plot; which was to be executed in ſuch a manner as to paſs for an unforeſeen accident. The day was fixed for the 4th of November, when the archducal miniſter expected to ſee the moſt ſurprizing effort of human policy. It had been agreed to put this purpoſe in execution ſo early as the precedent May, but they found it impoſſible to be done at that time. It was therefore deferred till the feſtival, on which they ſhould exhibit the ridiculous ceremony of carrying the pope's effigy about the ſtreets of London, and committing it to the flames, a kind of mock ſolemnity that gathers the ſcum of the people, who are always ripe for plunder, ſedition, and riot. On this occaſion the malecontents propoſed to excite the mob to a revolt, and under the cloak of popular fury to be revenged of their enemies and ſubvert the government.

WHILE Galas was flattering himſelf with theſe hopes, he received the articles ſigned between Menager and the Engliſh miniſters, from the ſecretary of ſtate's office. If thoſe articles chagrined him, he was equally provoked at the manner in which they were ſent, wrapt up in a ſheet of paper, without mentioning, either by word of mouth,

or

or in writing, from what quarter they came. He printed them, thinking by this means to be revenged. The printer was taken up, and declared that he had received them of count Galas with orders to put them to the preſs. The miniſtry from that time looked upon themſelves as releaſed from all ſorts of reſtraint, and repreſented to the queen, that it was for her ſervice to order a perſon, who under the ſanction of his character had been guilty of criminal intrigues, immediately to quit the kingdom.

The queen had ſome difficulty to yield to their repreſentations. She had a regard for Galas, and looked upon him as a man of honour. Beſides ſhe thought it would be an affront to the archduke, and a kind of rupture, thus to turn away his miniſter. Perhaps ſaid ſhe, he is innocent of the ſeveral heinous offences laid to his charge.

St. John convinced her of the facts, and gave ſufficient proofs that the charge was well grounded. The queen therefore ordered Galas to be forbid to appear at court, and to have notice given him, that her miniſters ſhould have no further communication with him, and an account thereof to be tranſmitted to the archduke.

In purſuance of the queen's orders, the maſter of the ceremonies, who in England performs the office of introducing ambaſſadors, let him know that the queen diſpleaſed with his conduct, would

would not ſuffer him to appear any more at court, or to exerciſe the function of a foreign miniſter, ſince ſhe no longer conſidered him as inveſted with a public character.

He wanted to know the motives of this ſeverity, and what he had done to deſerve it. The anſwer was that care ſhould be taken to inform his maſter.

These facts preceeded Gaultier's arrival at Verſailles. He acquainted the king with every circumſtance, and with what he knew in regard to the preſent ſtate of England.

Buys was treated more favourably at court than Galas, but did not make a greater progreſs. The queen had declared to him that ſhe would have peace, and that the conferences ſhould be opened immediately. This did not anſwer the intent of Buy's expedition, nor his ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs. He had flattered himſelf he ſhould either be able to break off all negotiation, or if he could not compaſs that, he ſhould employ ſuch artifices to ruin the new miniſtry, as might contribute to prolong the war. And indeed they talked of nothing leſs at the Hague than of carrying it on with greater vigour than ever. They obſerved no ſort of decency in their declamations againſt the queen's miniſters. They repreſented them as traitors to their country, traitors to their allies, and as fellows that had

ſold

ſold themſelves for French gold. Buys ſpoke of them with the ſame indiſcretion and untruth; all malecontents, whether Engliſh, or foreigners, were welcome to his houſe, he took pains to invite them all, perfectly diſcharging his commiſſion, that of blowing the coals, and of uſing all his endeavours, either to ruin the new miniſters, or to reſtore their rivals. But his chief and intimate connexion was with Bothmar, the duke of Hanover's envoy.

THIS duke, at that time preſumptive heir to the crown of England, conſidered the whigs as the chief ſupport of the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in the proteſtant line, to the advantage of himſelf and his family.

THE whigs were impatient for his acceſſion, as the period in which they ſhould overſet their enemies, and without all doubt recover the whole authority of which they had been ſtripped by the tories. But neither the unanimity, nor the intrigues, nor the preſſing inſtances of the foreign miniſters were able to procure this change, before the duke of Hanover aſcended the throne. This lucky moment depended on the queen's life, and of courſe was uncertain. So long therefore as ſhe continued to reign, it was thought neceſſary to add greater weight to the repreſentations which had hitherto proved ineffectual. In order to back them, the

enemies

enemies of the government, reſolved to invite to London, a general famous for the ſignal ſervices he had done the allies during the cour e of the war. With this view they ſolicited prince Eugene to come to their aſſiſtance. The duke of Marlborough perſuaded him to ſet out immediately for London. Bothmar thought he ſhould pave the way for him, by preſenting, in the duke of Hanover's name, a memorial to the queen of Great Britain, to diſſuade her from entering into a negotiation with France, independently of her allies, on any other foundation than that of the preliminaries propoſed in 1709.

THE ſupreme ruler of the univerſe, in whoſe hands are war and peace, had fixed the term of both. This term was drawing near, and no human endeavour could fruſtrate the order of providence. So many engines at work to hinder the re-eſtabliſhment of the public repoſe, ſerved only to diſunite the allies; and in proportion as their jealouſy of each other increaſed, a ſtronger friendſhip and correſpondence was cemented betwixt the miniſters of France and England. The lord Treaſurer, Oxford, and St. John ſecretary of ſtate, undertook to manage the whole of the negotiation.

THE abbé Gaultier, the meſſenger of both ſides, was not detained long at Verſailles. The king ordered a memorial, to be delivered to him, in anſwer to the queſtions propoſed by the Engliſh miniſters, and containing the eclairciſſments which they demanded in the name of her Britannic majeſty. It might ſerve as a rough draught for the inſtructions, which the king propoſed to give to his Plenipotentiaries at the conferences of peace. Therefore this was an indubitable proof of the extraodinary confidence his

majeſty repoſed in queen Anne's ſincerity; and indeed he no longer conſidered that princeſs in the light of an enemy, but as a diſcreet, prudent, and ſure friend, to whom he might unboſom himſelf with ſafety, and incapable of betraying a ſecret, which ſhe knew how to make a prudent uſe of, according as circumſtances ſhould require.

THE purport of the principal articles of the memorial was, that the king would conſent in the firſt place to let the Dutch have a ſufficient barrier for ſecuring the tranquillity of their country, as well as for reſtoring their commerce to its former advantages, if on their part they would ſincerely contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace.

IN the ſecond place it was mentioned, that before this barrier was ſettled, it would be neceſſary to determine the fate of the Netherlands, and to what prince they ſhould belong.

THE king of Spain had ceded thoſe provinces to the elector of Bavaria. The king demanded the execution of a treaty, which he himſelf had ſigned. His majeſty however conſented, in order to remove all uneaſineſs from the Dutch, that they ſhould have a right to garriſon the ſtrong towns in thoſe provinces, with troops maintained at the expence of the country; thus they ſhould have a double barrier, ſufficient to remove all reaſonable jealouſy in regard to France.

WITH this view, the king conſented to leave the States-General in poſſeſſion of Menin and its Verge, and to add Ypres and its Chatellany, with Furnes and Furnembach.

THIRDLY the king demanded as an equivalent for theſe towns, that Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, Bouchain, Doway, and their dependances ſhould be reſtored to him.

FOURTHLY

FOURTHLY in regard to England his majeſty confirmed the promiſe he had made to demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, as well by land, as towards the ſea. For an equivalent thereof he ſpecified the reſtitution of Liſle and Tournay with their dependances.

THE king however, in confidence acquainted the queen of Great Britain, that he ſhould be ſatisfied with the reſtitution of the town and cittadel of Liſle with its dependances, and give up Tournay, rather than retard the peace by obſtinately inſiſting on that article.

FIFTHLY, a condition which the king had greatly at heart, was the reſtoration of the elector of Bavaria to all his territories, to his rank, and dignities, with the complete reſtitution of whatever had been taken from him, his artillery, moveables, jewels, and generally all his effects.

THE king judged that ſhould it be impoſſible to obtain ſo juſt a reſtitution in favour of that prince, perhaps he might be prevailed upon to reſign his dominions and his dignity to the electoral prince his ſon, upon marrying the archdutcheſs, eldeſt daughter of the emperor Joſeph, on condition however that the elector ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty of the Netherlands to himſelf, and accept of it in exchange for Bavaria, leaving the care of garriſons to the Dutch, and the charge of maintaining them to the country.

THERE were other equivalents propoſed in favour of the elector of Bavaria, which only ſhewed his majeſty's great attention to the intereſts of a faithful ally, unjuſtly ſtripped of his territories, contrary to the conſtitutions of the empire, out of hatred to his attachment to the juſt cauſe of his majeſty, and of the king his grandſon.

As there was reaſon to believe, that if the Dutch were but act bona fide, in concert with England, they would greatly influence the reſt of the allies, in regulating the conditions of peace; his majeſty was further willing to engage the States General, by the lure of commerce, to ſecond the demands of the elector of Bavaria. For this purpoſe the king promiſed to grant them the tariff of 1664, and the long wiſhed for exemption from paying the fifty ſols *per* tun, if they would contribute to obtain for that prince the conditions propoſed in his favour.

In failure of theſe good offices and of ſucceſs therein, his majeſty would grant them only the tariff of 1669.

The engagement which Menager had ſigned in favour of the duke of Savoy, was confirmed. The king moreover declared, that far from oppoſing the aggrandizement of that prince in Italy, he thought it would be for the good of that part of Europe, if he was to have the remainder of the Dutchy of Milan.

His majeſty was pleaſed to acquaint the queen and her miniſters in confidence, that in ſuch caſe he ſhould make no difficulty to acknowledge him as king of Lombardy.

He inſiſted on the reſtitution of Exilles and Feneſtrelle. As he was explaining himſelf in regard to the pretenſions of all his enemies, he declared in the ſame memorial that he ſhould make no difficulty to acknowledge the title of king of *Pruſſia*, which the elector of Brandenburg had aſſumed to himſelf. That he ſhould do the ſame in regard to the ninth electorate, which the emperor had created in favour of the duke of Hanover, and ſhould refer both theſe articles to the ſigning of the peace.

The

THE archduke having been elected to the Imperial dignity, took his way from Spain through Italy to his hereditary dominions. He was crowned at Frankfort the 22d of December; and before the ceremony of his coronation, the memorial had been delivered to the abbé Gaultier. The king was willing however to acknowledge that prince as emperor at the enſuing peace.

THE other conditions in regard to the ſame prince, were to yield fort Kehl to him and to the empire, to demoliſh the fortifications of Straſburg erected on the Rhine, with thoſe oppoſite to Huningen, and generally the ſeveral works built or erected on the other ſide of that river.

BRISAC was promiſed to be reſtored to the emperor, but fort du Mortier to remain to France; if that prince would engage on the other hand to reſtore Landaw to the king, and to re-inſtate the electors of Cologne and Bavaria.

THESE ſeveral articles correſponded to the queſtions propoſed in the behalf of the queen of Great Britain Her miniſters had deſired to be informed of the king's intentions in regard to the conditions of the general peace. They had ſent the abbé Gaultier to obtain ſuch eclairciſſments, as were neceſſary to regulate their conduct; and his majeſty did not at all doubt but they would make a good uſe of what ſecrets he ſhould communicate. He freely opened all his deſigns to them; for in the memorial delivered to Gaultier, there was a particular and diſtinct account of the principal points of the inſtruction, which he propoſed giving to his plenipotentiaries at the conferences of Utrecht.

THERE was no need for deſiring the abbé Gaultier, who was perfect maſter of the negotiation, to make the queen and her miniſters ſen-

ſenſible of the confidence, which his majeſty had demonſtrated towards them; as it could not eſcape their obſervation, he had orders to declare that the king did not in the leaſt queſtion, but he ſhould meet with mutual confidence, and that they would make a prudent uſe of his information. As Gaultier was to give an account of his journey and his inſtructions, to none but the lord Treaſurer and St. John, theſe were the only perſons he was to aſſure of the king's eſteem and confidence upon ſo important an affair. Prior, whoſe zeal for peace and his country's good had been conſpicuous, was not to be forgot. It was above all things neceſſary to make them ſenſible, that if they found any obſcurity in the anſwers with which he was entruſted, or in thoſe which might be made in the courſe of the negotiation, they ſhould be ſoon cleared up, and the difficulties removed by communicating mutually and bona fide, ſuch doubts as might eaſily ariſe on both ſides, when the negotiators can neither ſee, nor ſpeak to one another, and when there is hardly an agent to carry on the communication between them.

SOME negotiations had been ſet on foot in Germany by the king's orders, before any judgment could be formed of the progreſs and conſequences of the treaty with England. The king being fully determined to act in thorough concert with the queen of Great Britain, ordered the abbé Gaultier to tell her majeſty's miniſters, that thoſe negotiations ſhould be ſuſpended, if ſhe did not think it expedient to continue or even to conclude them.

IN ſhort his majeſty deſirous of obliging the queen of England in every thing, thought proper

proper to acquaint the duke of Savoy with the article which Menager ſigned in his favour, and which his majeſty had approved. He therefore ordered a copy of this article to be ſent to the marquis of ſaint Thomas, at that time the duke of Savoy's prime miniſter.

BESIDES paying the expences of Gaultier's journey, the king made him a preſent of 6000 livres for his trouble.

A few days after Gaultier's departure for England, the earl of Strafford wrote word, that the Dutch paſsports for the plenipotentiaries of France, were at length made out. In England it was thought that they would be delivered to the ambaſſador of that crown, in order to be forwarded to the king; but the Dutch wanting to make a merit to themſelves with the queen of Great Britain, ordered Buys to deliver them to her majeſty. He was directed at the ſame time to know her intentions in regard to the opening of the conferences, and to leave to her option to determine the town in which they were to be held.

STRAFFORD would have preferred the Hague to any other place; but the king excepted againſt it, and the queen of England approved of his reaſons, founded chiefly on this that the penſionary Heinſius would in all probability be appointed one of the plenipotentiaries of the Republic, if the conferences of peace were to be held at that place. His influence was well known, as were likewiſe his ſentiments, and his attachment to the preliminaries of 1709, which were his own contrivance. Suppoſing the conferences to be opened at any other place than the Hague, where the penſionary is confined by his office, he could not act as plenipotentiary, and be abſent from the council of State.

THE king remembered alſo, that at the treaty of Ryſwic, his ambaſſadors being confined at Delft, were frequently ignorant of what was in tranſaction at the Hague among the allied miniſters. The Dutch would have been glad to deprive the French plenipotentiaries once more, of every intelligence conducive to the good ſucceſs of the negotiation.

IN England the earl of Strafford was cenſured for inſiſting upon the Hague; but he had taken ſuch pains to forward the negotiations of peace, and had conformed ſo ſtrictly to the intentions of the queen his miſtreſs, that it was in ſome meaſure but juſt to excuſe his ſollicitations, founded in all probability on the intereſt he had to continue where his family was ſettled, and to avoid the trouble and expence of removing to another town; trifling conſiderations when ſet in competition with the concerns of the public, but oftentimes more weighty with ſome men, than the welfare of the ſtate and the ſucceſs of important matters committed to their management.

THE abbé Gaultier upon his return to London the 26th of November, acquainted the two miniſters with the king's reſolutions, contained in the memorial which he had received of his majeſty. They expreſſed equal ſatisfaction at the preciſe anſwers to the ſeveral queſtions propoſed by her Britannic majeſty. The queen herſelf was not leſs pleaſed, when ſhe came to hear them. Both Oxford and St. John wrote to the king's miniſter. Oxford aſſured him, 'that 'they were exerting their utmoſt endeavours, 'to finiſh the grand affair, purſuant to the ar'dent deſire of both parties; that the queen had 'been pleaſed to ſee by the laſt memorial, the 'great confidence which the king repoſed in 'her;

'her; that ſhe would render it ſubſervient to a 'good purpoſe, to induce ſeveral of the allied 'ſtates, and eſpecially the Dutch to ſettle their 'intereſts before the opening of the conferences; 'that her majeſty was abſolutely reſolved to 'finiſh the work of peace, notwithſtanding the 'many obſtructions ſhe met with, as well from 'her own ſubjects, as from ſome of her allies; 'that ſhe was firm and conſtant in her purpoſe; 'that ſhe hoped the king would give orders 'for obviating the uſual difficulties of negotia-'tion; as on her ſide ſhe would particularly 'direct her miniſters, to determine the moſt 'eſſential points without loſs of time, ſo that 'the peace ſhould be agreed upon before the 'opening of the conferences, and there ſhould 'be no other obſtacles to hinder it, nor further 'expences incurred for continuing the war.'

It was not therefore without foundation that the Engliſh afterwards declared, while the plenipotentiaries were met at Utrecht, that the peace ſhould not be concluded in that city, but at London, and at Verſailles.

Buys delivered the paſsports for the French plenipotentiaries, into the queen's own hands. The lord Treaſurer mentioned this particular in the ſame letter; adding that the Dutch agreed, the conferences ſhould be opened at Utrecht, the 12th of January of the enſuing year 1712. He likewiſe run into high commendations of the ſincerity of the court of France, of which he had had evident proofs ſince the commencement of the negotiation. He exhorted them to continue to behave with the ſame candour, as the ſure and only way to defeat the malice and artifices of ill deſigning men, who endeavoured to raiſe ſuſpicions of the ſincerity of France, and to make the public believe that they muſt take

take care not to give any credit to the falſe aſſurances, by which ſhe was tempting England to treat with her. It was proper therefore to detect the malignity of the enemies of peace, and to deſtroy all prejudices, in order to promote the negotiation.

St. JOHN, ſecretary of ſtate, ſhewed the ſame ſincerity and plain dealing as the lord Treaſurer. He looked upon peace as neceſſary to his country, and as a ſolid bleſſing, which a zealous and diſintereſted patriot ought to endeavour to procure her. He perſiſted in the ſame ſentiments during the whole courſe of the negotiation, and punctually complied with his miſtreſs's intentions. It was by her orders he wrote to the king's miniſter at the ſame time as the earl of Oxford, to give him notice of the day the conferences were to be opened at Utrecht, as ſettled by the queen of England and the States-General.

ACCORDING to this agreement, the miniſters employed at the conferences of peace, were to have only the title of plenipotentiaries, and not to take the character of ambaſſadors, till the very day the peace was ſigned.

THE intereſts of Spain, as well as thoſe of the elector of Bavaria, were to be regulated before the miniſters of thoſe powers ſhould be admitted to the conferences.

IT was owing to the preſſing importunities of Buys, that the queen had given her conſent to the excluſion of the Spaniſh and Bavarian miniſters; it was demanded only for a certain time, and under the pretence of its being impoſſible to ſend paſsports for the miniſters of thoſe powers, before the titles of their maſters were acknowledged; and that it would be the means of retarding the negotiation, while it was of the

the utmoſt importance to puſh it forward. Beſides, to ſettle the intereſts of Spain and Bavaria, there was very little occaſion for their miniſters to be preſent, till thoſe intereſts came to be diſcuſſed.

BUYS obſtinate in his demands, and glad to retard the opening of conferences, made the delivery of the paſports depend on the anſwer, which the king ſhould give to the article of admitting the miniſters of Spain and Bavaria. The difficulty was ill founded, and appeared in that light to the queen's miniſters; but they were ſolicitous to remove every obſtacle, that might hinder or retard the opening of the conferences. Their good intentions were ſo well known, and the king was ſo ſenſible of the importance of aſſiſting them to conduct the work of peace to a happy concluſion, that there was no manner of room to doubt but the king would facilitate the forwarding of the paſsports, by giving his conſent, out of regard to the queen of England, to commence the conferences, before the miniſters of Spain and Bavaria were admitted.

WHILE they were waiting in London for the king's anſwer to this article, the abbé Gaultier wrote word the 4th of December, that the queen of Great Britain would not furniſh her quota for another campaign, nor ſuffer the duke of Marlborough to go over to Holland, and that they were preparing to call him to an account, concerning divers weighty matters, at the next ſeſſion of parliament.

IN regard to the peace, the Dutch, the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Brandenburg, were willing to ſubmit their intereſts to the queen of Great Britain.

THE

THE Engliſh miniſtry did not ſeem to give themſelves any trouble about the emperor's oppoſition. They were not ſo eaſy in regard to the duke of Hanover, who was conſidered and dreaded as preſumptive heir to the crown of England. Bothmar, that prince's envoy, and Buys, having entered into a cloſe connexion, ſhewed a ſurprizing diligence in blowing the coals of ſedition and rebellion. The only difference in their conduct was that the States-General having conformed to the queen of England's intentions, Buys endeavoured to act in diſguiſe and ſpoke on all occaſions, as if he was ſincerely deſirous of peace; but he had been privately concerned in penning that violent memorial, which Bothmar delivered in his maſter's name to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate.

NOR were they leſs incenſed in Holland againſt the conduct of that crown. The great men as well as the common people, condemned the ſtate for being ſo complaiſant to the Engliſh miniſtry. They ſaid that that the condeſcenſion, and acquieſcence, ſhewn to that nation, had been the cauſe of their deſpiſing the Republic, who ſhould not have ſought to maintain her weight by mean ſubmiſſion, but by proper courage. That France ſo often vanquiſhed during the courſe of the war, was at length grown victorious by negotiations, by treaties ignominious to the allies, and by her good fortune in making the Engliſh miniſtry fall into the ſnare which ſhe had laid for the Republic.

BUT the moſt dangerous enemies of the miniſtry, obſerved a profound ſilence; they looked upon invective and declamation as an idle ſhift, and therefore reſolved to fight the government with other weapons. It is pretended that the penſionary of Holland, before the ſending of the paſſports,

ports, had promiſed the emperor to leave no ſtone unturned to prevent their being iſſued out, and that his intereſt on that occaſion had not been equal to his good will.

THEIR domeſtic enemies perſiſted in the deſign of exciting an inſurrection in London; and if this ſcheme which had been laid ſome time ſince, ſhould not anſwer their expectations, they comforted themſelves with the hopes of better ſucceſs from the ſecret meaſures, concerted with the court of Vienna and the States General, to ſeize on the Engliſh troops, at that time in garriſon in the Netherlands.

THE king having been informed of theſe different conſpiracies, ordered Gaultier to acquaint the two miniſters with the intelligence. It was no news to them; and the truth thereof was abſolutely confirmed by the behaviour of count Galas, ſince the declaration he had received from the queen of England, and his being prohibited from any further acceſs to her majeſty's miniſters. At firſt he expreſſed all the reſentment it was natural for him to have, upon quitting a court where he had been publickly affronted; but inſtead of haſtening he deferred his departure, under the frivolous pretence of waiting for a fleet from Rotterdam. The real motive of this delay, was his deſire of ſeeing the ſucceſs of that mobbiſh proceſſion, which the whigs intended to render ſubſervient to the exciting of an inſurrection, the conſequences of which would not perhaps be confined to the deſtruction of the miniſtry.

THE ſucceſs of ſuch a project being very uncertain, Galas wrote preſſing letters to prince Eugene to haſten his departure, as the laſt reſource for preventing the peace ſo ardently deſired by the miniſtry.

OUR

'OUR friends, theſe are his words to Zintzendorff at that time at the Hague, are very ſollicitous that ſome perſon of diſtinction ſhould come over to take my place. They are all, and particularly my lord Sunderland of opinion, that no body would be ſo proper as the prince, whoſe great reputation and popular character will not permit the miniſtry to dare to offer him any ſlight or affront.'

MEASURES had been already concerted with the leaders, to march in proceſſion with a numerous retinue to meet prince Eugene, and to introduce him with grand ſolemnity and triumph into London. Above two thouſand horſemen were to be ready at his landing, to conduct him to town; and this public entry was to be upon the very day that they exhibited their fooliſh ceremony of burning the pope's effigy; ſo that the two mobs combining ſhould execute the plot, which was ſaid to be approved of by a great number of Lords, then met in parliament.

THE intereſt of the duke of Hanover was conſidered as inſeparable from that of the whigs and of the emperor; therefore Bothmar's princeſs was particularly deſired to come over by the ſame party. But the queen's miniſters having had timely notice of thoſe conſpiracies, took care to nip them in the bud. The earl of Strafford had orders to diſſuade prince Eugene, who was then in Holland, from going over to England. Strafford's repreſentations did not prevent this voyage, which had been long before agreed upon; but they delayed it long enough, to occaſion ſome changes in England, and to weaken the enemy's party.

THE ſweeter this name of peace reſounded in the ears of a people oppreſſed with the burden of a long war, which was unprofitable to England, and of

no

no uſe but to the houſe of Auſtria; the more the party in the oppoſition endeavoured to miſrepreſent the intentions of the miniſtry. The whigs, and among others, Sunderland and Halifax, who were conſidered as the heads, endeavoured to perſuade the people, that the chief view of the preſent adminiſtration, was to reſtore the prince whom they called the pretender. The queen, they ſaid, was betrayed, and the people would very ſoon be betrayed alſo, unleſs theſe pernicious intrigues were immediately defeated. The way to do this was to publiſh the ſecret immediately in England and in Holland; and beſides, it would be proper to ſend over directly for the duke of Hanover or his ſon. Otherwiſe the proteſtant ſucceſſion would be in imminent danger, as the queen's health was daily declining, and her conſtitution ruined; ſhe was kept alive by art, by cordials and ſtrong medicines preſcribed by her phyſicians. They added that the landing of the preſumptive heir to the crown, and his reſiding in London would defeat the ſecret conſpiracies in favour of the Pretender, and maintain the order of ſucceſſion; that then would be the time to ſet about the peace, and to enter into a juſt and reaſonable treaty in concert with all the allies.

THE queen of England and her miniſters having been informed of the conſpiracies of the whigs, and of the countenance given them by the emperor and his allies, grew more eager to conclude the negotiation begun with France.

THE king on his part omitted nothing that could contribute to the ſame end; hence he conſented to every demand which that princeſs had lately made him.

THE only point that could admit of ſome difficulty, becauſe Buys connected it with the delivery of the paſsports, was to open the conferences without

without waiting for the miniſters of Spain, Cologne and Bavaria, and to treat before they were admitted: but in reality this condition, ſo warmly ſollicited by the queen of England, could be of no prejudice to thoſe princes; their intereſts were likely to be better ſupported in the king's hands, than by their own miniſters. Beſides the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, then at Madrid could not reach Holland by the day appointed for opening the conferences.

THE king conſented it ſhould be the 8th of January of the enſuing Year 1712, as the Queen of Great Britain had propoſed.

THAT no other titles ſhould appear there but thoſe of plenipotentiaries, and that thoſe miniſters ſhould not aſſume the character of ambaſſadors, till the day and moment of ſigning the treaties.

THE mutual diſpoſitions of the two ſovereigns appeared in the letters written on each ſide by the miniſters, full of cordiality and friendſhip. The duke of Marlborough had been made to underſtand heretofore, that if he would contribute to the peace, he ſhould have a reward of ſuch a nature, as he generally ſeemed moſt fond of; but in the preſent negotiation, no other recompence was ever mentioned, but that of procuring peace to Europe, and no other intereſt but that of the ſtate. If France ſtudied to uſe ſuch expreſſions as were moſt capable of pleaſing the queen, they were not only due to her ſex; but her zeal for peace, and the plain dealing of her miniſters deſerved thoſe encomiums, the juſt tribute of ſincerity. It is true, that this is a virtue not always practiſed by thoſe who are concerned in negotiations; on the contrary a great many falſely imagine, that artifice and lying are maſter ſtrokes of policy.

THE

THE abbé Gaultier, a plain clergyman, without the leaſt pomp, or ceremony, was ſo agreeable to the lord treaſurer, that when the king had ſome deſign, and even made a propoſal to ſend an agent to England of a higher character, this miniſter begged that his majeſty would pleaſe to let Gaultier continue to execute his orders. And indeed he acquitted himſelf very exactly in this poſt, explaining his orders in the cleareſt manner; nor was he leſs punctual in the account he gave of the anſwers of the Engliſh miniſters, of the commiſſions he received of them, and of the intelligence he might have of the ſtate of the kingdom, or the temper and diſpoſition of the people. If he was to croſs the ſea, in order to give a verbal account of ſome important commiſſion, and to deſcend to a more particular detail than could be explained in a letter, he never grudged his trouble; he was afraid of no difficulty, where the ſervice of his king and country was concerned.

THE Engliſh parliament being met, the queen went to the houſe the 18th of December 1711. She declared in her ſpeech that ſhe had thought proper to put an end to the war, which had coſt the nation ſuch a deal of blood and treaſure, and to conclude an honourable and advantageous peace. In the houſe of lords, the Whigs with great vehemence declared againſt all treaty of peace, unleſs the principal condition included the total reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy and the Indies, in favour of the Emperor and his family.

THE peace was a long time debated in the houſe of commons, but at length the pacific party prevailed by a majority of 126.

IN the houſe of lords the court were within one of having a majority, notwithſtanding the violent fury of the Whigs.

MARLBOROUGH and his adherents had bribed even the queen's ſervants, eight of whom voted againſt the court.

IF this corruption could have been fairly proved, it would have been high treaſon according to the laws of England; and the court party at that time talked of nothing but of beheading the corruptor.

THIS oppoſition in the Engliſh parliament, at a time when the queen and her miniſters thought themſelves ſure of a majority, was attributed alſo to the intrigues of Buys. At leaſt he gave room to believe, that he was in expectation of ſome important event, capable of overſetting every meaſure conducive to peace. The paſsports which he had long ſince received of the States General, were ſtill in his hands, tho' he had been ordered to deliver them to the queen. He had no pretence to delay them any longer, ſince the king had removed every difficulty concerning the admiſſion of the miniſters of Spain and Bavaria. In ſhort, the artifices of the Dutch miniſter having proved ineffectual, and the oppoſition in the upper houſe not anſwering his expectations, he was convinced that he had no other ſtep to take, than to deliver up to Mr. St. John, ſecretary of ſtate, thoſe paſsports, which he had kept ſo long by him, with a view of retarding the conferences, that were to prave the way to a general peace.

THE ſecretary of ſtate without loſs of time ſent the paſsports to France. He accompanied them with freſh aſſurances, that the intrigues of the enemies of peace would be ineffectual, and that the difficulties they had raiſed, would ſoon be removed by the care and ſteadineſs of the queen his miſtreſs, conſtant and unſhaken in her reſolution of omitting nothing to complete the important work of a general pacification.

THE

THE queen took notice on all occaſions, how greatly ſhe was pleaſed to find that the king's ſentiments agreed with hers. Oxford and St. John expreſſed themſelves in the ſame ſtrain. The lord treaſurer declared that his promiſes ſhould be effectual, and that the time was not very remote.

THE parliament however was not yet come into the queen's meaſures. The houſe of lords were divided: and it required great prudence and management to make a proper uſe of this diviſion. The king ſenſible of the importance of not acting raſhly in thoſe conjunctures, would rather have checked the eagerneſs of the Engliſh miniſters, than have ſpurred them on, either to peace, or to ſtrike thoſe deciſive blows which they had levelled againſt the moſt violent oppoſers of the queen's pleaſure. Thoſe on whom the ſtorm was moſt likely to fall were the dukes of Marlborough and Sommerſet.

BUT whether thoſe examples of domeſtic juſtice were ſooner or later exhibited, was a matter of indifference in regard to the conſummation of the important work of peace. The nature and the time of puniſhing the enemies of the queen, might be referred to the Engliſh miniſters. It was therefore thought ſufficient to write only to St. John, that the paſſports were come; that marſhal d'Huxelles, the abbé de Polignac, and Menager, whom the king had nominated his plenipotentiaries, would ſet out directly, being perfectly acquainted with what had paſſed at the preceding conferences. Beſides, as there was not the leaſt room to doubt of the prudence of the Engliſh miniſtry, and their knowledge of their own intereſts; it would have been needleſs, nay perhaps dangerous to direct them how to behave, either in regard to preventing, or defending themſelves

againſt the deſigns of their enemies. The plenipotentiaries had already received the king's inſtructions, agreeable to the plan of the articles previouſly communicated to the queen of England; for there had been no further queſtion this long time about thoſe odious preliminaries contrived and demanded by the enemies of peace, only to raiſe an invincible obſtacle againſt it. The point was no longer, as at the conferences at Gertrudenberg, to find out ſome expedient, equally impracticable and unjuſt, to oblige his Catholic majeſty to renounce the Spaniſh monarchy and the Indies in the ſpace of two months. The abſurd reſerve of ulterior and ſecret demands was aboliſhed. The negotiation was to be conducted in the uſual order of treaties; while the king recovered the poſſeſſion, claimed by the Dutch, of ſettling the conditions of peace, and determining the fate of Europe.

THUS the ſituation of affairs being changed, the king inſiſted that the principal towns which he had loſt in Flanders during the courſe of the war, ſhould be reſtored to him, according to what he had declared to the queen of England.

WE have ſeen in the articles communicated to her Britannic majeſty, the great attention which the king paid to to the intereſts of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria. The plenipotentiaries were again and particularly inſtructed, to uſe all their endeavours, for obtaining the reſtoration of both thoſe princes to their dominions, and an indemnification for the damages they had ſuſtained. And as his majeſty reckoned that if his miniſters acted in concert with the plenipotentiaries of England, ſuch an union would infinitely contribute to the advancement of peace, he ordered them to eſtabliſh and to ſtrengthen that good underſtanding, as much as lay in their power, and to behave ſo, if poſſible, during the courſe of the negotiation, that the Engliſh ſhould inſenſibly become the mediators, and act the part without the title. In a word, it was proper the Dutch ſhould know, that they were in great meaſure indebted to the interceſſion of the queen of England, for the advantages they were to obtain by treaty: their conduct having been ſuch as not to deſerve the leaſt favour from the king, but on the contrary a long remembrance of the pride and injuſtice of a Republic, intoxicated by proſperity ſo far as to forget herſelf.

The END *of the* THIRD PART.

NEGOTIATIONS

FOR THE

PEACE OF UTRECHT,

1712.

The CONTENTS.

THE plenipotentiaries of France, England and Holland arrive at Utrecht. But the negotiation is ſtill carried on between France and England. State of the latter kingdom. Prince Eugene goes over to London, in order to cruſh the new miniſtry, and to oppoſe the peace. The duke of Marlborough is diſmiſſed from all his employments, and charged with having embezzled the public money. Prince Eugene endeavours to put a ſtop to the negotiation. Violent projects of the enemies of the miniſtry. Prince Eugene leaves England. State of the negotiation of Utrecht. Death of the Dauphin; of the duke of Burgundy, who became dauphin; of his wife the dauphineſs; and of the duke of Britany. Theſe misfortunes retard the ſucceſs of the negotiation. Obſtacles removed. Suſpenſion of arms betwixt France and England. Convention betwixt the two crowns. Lord Bolingbroke arrives in France. A further ſuſpenſion of arms is ſettled by ſea and land. State of the conferences of Utrecht. The king demands ſatisfaction of the Dutch for an inſult offered to one of his miniſters, and obtains it. After a great many difficulties and delays, the reſpective miniſters of England, France, and Holland ſign the treaty of peace. This peace at length becomes general between all the belligerant powers. Reflection of the author of theſe memoirs, and compariſon betwixt this treaty and the preliminaries drawn up by Heinſius.

ME-

MEMOIRS

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY of the NEGOTIATIONS

FROM THE

Treaty of Ryſwic to the peace of Utrecht.

PART THE FOURTH.

NEGOTIATIONS

For the peace of Utrecht, 1712.

THE delay, contrived by Buys, in ſending the paſſports, had retarded the departure of the plenipotentiaries, who did not arrive at Utrecht till the 19th of January 1712. Buys being returned from England, and nominated by the province of Holland, to aſſiſt at the conferences of peace, had reached that city a few days before them. His ſentiments were not yet

changed; for he continued as averſe as ever from peace. He had been hitherto employed only to croſs the negotiations, and to throw every difficulty he could in their way. This he had attempted unſucceſsfully in England; where he behaved with ſo little circumſpection, that the day before his departure, when he took leave of the whole council aſſembled, the high-treaſurer anſwering his compliment, did not ſcruple to tell him, that he had acted ever ſince he had been in London, not as the miniſter of an allied power, but as an incendiary that had been ſent to throw every thing into a combuſtion; that his intrigues, which he imagined to be ſo ſecret, were perfectly known; that the queen was very well informed of his connections with thoſe, of whoſe deſigns her majeſty had juſt reaſons to entertain a ſuſpicion, knowing their averſion to her government; that ſhe had been apprized of every thing that had paſſed in converſation between his friends and him. "You "was yeſterday," ſaid the high-treaſurer, "again "at ſuch a houſe;" mentioning it by name, as well as the company that met there. He repeated every thing that had been ſaid on the occaſion; and the account was ſo exact, that Buys neither preſumed to contradict the truth, nor to anſwer him. After this conviction, the high-treaſurer ſaid to him, "Here is a purſe of a "thouſand piſtoles, of which the queen makes "you a preſent."

THUS

THUS they parted. When he came back to Holland, it was reported that the States-General were going to employ more effectual means, than thoſe uſeleſs repreſentations to the queen of England; and that they were actually fitting out a fleet, to carry over the duke of Hanover to that kingdom, with a conſiderable body of that prince's own troops. It was already given out in Holland, that ſhortly would be exhibited ſuch another ſcene as that of 1688, but probably one more bloody.

FROM theſe ſpeeches people of the beſt ſenſe concluded, that there was room to admire the moderation of the Engliſh miniſtry, and to be aſtoniſhed at their great patience in regard to the avowed enemies of the queen and her government.

IT had been given out, that thoſe enemies of the miniſtry would be ſoon turned out of their places; but not one of them was yet removed: they behaved with the utmoſt inſolence, while thoſe whom they abuſed acted towards them with great decency. What ſignifies it, ſome ſaid, to offend only by halves; and when you have the power in your hands, to leave thoſe whom you have offended in poſſeſſion of the means of taking their revenge.

THE king was willing that abbé Gaultier ſhould be informed of theſe hints; but without directing him however to preſs ſuch prudent and able miniſters, as thoſe of the queen of Great-Britain,

to take any other reſolution than ſuch as they ſhould judge ſuitable to their own ſafety, and the preſent ſituation of affairs.

In theſe circumſtances their only way was to put a ſpeedy end to the war, by which the credit of the oppoſite party was chiefly ſupported. And indeed it was in order ſeriouſly to contribute towards a peace, and to forward its concluſion, that the earl of Oxford and Mr. ſecretary St. John had always intended to join Mr. Prior to the biſhop of Briſtol and the earl of Strafford, and to have him nominated third plenipotentiary from the queen of Great Britain. This ſcheme met with ſome difficulties in all likelihood, which they could not get over, ſo that the place remained vacant.

The king's plenipotentiaries reckoned to open themſelves chiefly to Prior. If he ſhould not be there, they aſked his majeſty which of the two Engliſh miniſters they might explain themſelves to with greateſt ſafety. He mentioned the biſhop of Briſtol, tho' he was ſatisfied with lord Strafford's conduct, particularly in regard to the forwarding of the Dutch paſſports, which had met with ſuch delays.

After they were delivered, it ſeemed as if the Dutch were deſirous to cancel the remembrance of the many obſtacles, which they had raiſed to the opening of the conferences, and to atone in ſome meaſure for their bad behaviour, by the honours they ſhewed to the king's plenipotentiaries,

nipotentiaries, as they paſſed thro' thoſe towns that were garriſoned by the Republic. They were not treated with the ſame reſpect at Bruſſels nor at Antwerp. The commanding officers of both thoſe places made an excuſe for not firing off the guns, pretending that their maſter would have no concern in the negotiation of peace; conſequently that his officers could pay no public compliments to the French miniſters employed in that commiſſion.

PRINCE Eugene having reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to croſs the treaty, was already ſet out for England, with full powers to ſpend what ſums he ſhould judge proper, and with letters of credit to anſwer any demand. The money, he thought, would have been well laid out, if he could overſet the new miniſtry and their projects. This he hoped to effect when he arrived at London, the 16th of January 1712. The queen of England had already conſulted with her privy council, in what manner ſhe ſhould receive him. It was determined to ſhew him all the reſpect due to the ſovereign that ſent him, as well as that which was particularly owing to the birth, ſervices, and reputation of prince Eugene; but at the ſame time that all theſe points were to be obſerved, it was reſolved to watch all his motions ſo narrowly, that he ſhould not have the leaſt opportunity of forming or fomenting any cabals or parties in the city of London. For indeed neither the queen nor her council were

ignorant of the great expectations of the whigs from prince Eugene's preſence, and from the ſtay he was to make in London. This party flattered themſelves that from his generous and popular diſpoſition, he would comply with their wiſhes and directions, in availing himſelf of the means and abilities of which he was poſſeſſed, to ſtir up the mob, who of themſelves are naturally turbulent. They reckoned beſides that the propoſals which he was to make to the queen, as well as to the parliament, would be ſo advantageous to the nation, that the new miniſters would not dare to reject them.

THESE propoſals were to leave the Engliſh in abſolute poſſeſſion of the commerce of Spain and America, and moreover to make the king of Denmark and the Czar of Muſcovy join in the grand alliance. Should theſe offers be accepted in ſpite of the new miniſtry, the duke of Hanover ſupported by his allies was to go over to England. The high treaſurer reſolving to keep terms no longer with the queen's enemies and his own, had been before-hand with prince Eugene. The prince was not yet arrived, when the duke of Marlborough was diſmiſſed from all his employments, and accuſed of having converted the public money to his own uſe, in that very aſſembly, where ten years running he had received the thanks and encomiums of the nation at his return from each campaign. He was charged with having taken and reſerved

to himſelf immenſe ſums out of the pay of the foreign troops; beſides the preſents which he had received or rather extorted from the officers that provide ammunition for the army. One ſingle article of theſe extortions amounted to forty-two thouſand pounds ſterling. In vain did he plead in his defence, that the late king William had allowed the general of the army, a privilege to deduct out of the pay of the foreign troops a regulated ſum, for ſecret correſpondences. Marlborough maintained that he had exacted nothing beyond that regulation, which had been confirmed by the queen's order in the month of July 1702. Notwithſtanding this defence the queen declared that ſhe thought proper to diſmiſs the duke from all his employments, in order to leave a free and impartial courſe to ſo important an enquiry.

THE houſe of commons, which for a ſeries of years had founded the praiſes of that general ſo high, came to a reſolution, that by accepting the annual preſents of the perſons he contracted with for the ammunition bread in Flanders, he had been guilty of an *illegal and unwarrantable practice*, that he ought to account for it, as well as for the ſums deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops.

THE high treaſurer had ſome thoughts of carrrying his revenge ſtill further; but the inſtability of affairs in England renders them apprehenſive of repriſals, in caſe of any reverſe of fortune.

fortune. This reflexion ſaved his enemy's life. Yet Oxford was ſuſpected of having behaved moderately in regard to Marlborough, merely with a view of gaining him over to his party, and making him join in the project for a peace.

THE duke of Ormond was appointed captain-general of the queen's land forces, and her majeſty created twelve peers to obtain a majority of votes in the houſe of lords.

PRINCE Eugene came to London after all theſe changes, when Marlborough had reaſon to reproach him for having been ſo dilatory in his voyage, which might perhaps have been of ſervice ſix weeks or a month ſooner. "This de-"lay, ſaid Marlborough, is the unhappy effect "of Auſtrian gravity, which has been ſo often "fatal to the intereſts of that auguſt family. "A month ago our friends had a majority in "the houſe of lords, they might have ſent three "or four of the chiefs of the oppoſite party to "the tower without any ſort of difficulty. The "vacant places would have been filled up to "their mind, and the war continued on the an-"cient footing; but the creating of the twelve "peers, and the arrival of the Scotch lords, "have changed the face of affairs. We muſt "now have recourſe to more violent methods. "There are ſtill ſome hopes however; for all "we have to do is to remove three or four per-"ſons, together with the high treaſurer, who "are poſſeſſed of the confidence of a ſilly woman,

"and

" and govern her as they pleaſe. As ſoon as " we have made theſe changes, things will re- " turn to their former courſe; the fleet, the " army, the queen's houſhold, are compoſed of " honeſt people, who are for us. The chief mi- " niſter has done all he could to expoſe us, and " he has ſo well ſucceeded, that we cannot pur- " ſue our deſign with the ſame air of popularity " as before."

HE concluded his ſpeech with adviſing prince Eugene " to behave himſelf with great mode- " ration, to aſk for nothing but what was rea- " ſonable, to gain the good opinion of the mi- " niſter by all poſſible means, and to act ſo as to " engage him, as well as the houſe of commons, " to grant powerful ſupplies for the next cam- " paign, and eſpecially for the Spaniſh war."

PRINCE Eugene had already had a ſhort audience of the queen the 17th of January in the evening, the day after he came to London. The reception he met with from that princeſs was very cold; few words paſſed, and no buſineſs was talked of. The prince afterwards returned the viſit to the high treaſurer. This miniſter, without entering into buſineſs, affected only to ſhew him extraordinary reſpect, chiefly to deprive the oppoſite party of the ſatisfaction of ſaying that he had been guilty of any diſregard towards the emperor, or towards the prince entruſted with his orders.

THE prince diſcloſed his inſtructions in ſeveral written memorials, which he delivered to the Engliſh miniſters, and whoſe anſwers he received in like manner in writing.

THEY contained, in the firſt place, aſſurances of the emperor's diſpleaſure at having heard, that the queen had been diſſatisfied with count Galas's conduct. Secondly, prince Eugene declared he had full powers to agree with the Engliſh miniſtry, upon ſome expedient for making the Imperial miniſters aſſiſt at the conferences of peace; for his Ceſarean majeſty could not look upon the preliminaries propoſed by France as a baſis of the treaties.

THIRDLY, he gave a copy, which he had already delivered to the Earl of Strafford, of a liſt of the forces which the emperor intended to employ the next campaign. In this liſt he laid a ſtreſs on his having omitted Spaniards, Italians, and Griſons in Catalonia and elſewhere, whoſe number the emperor offered to augment.

LASTLY, he demanded that whatever related to the Spaniſh war ſhould be diſcuſſed at London between the Engliſh miniſters and himſelf, as he had brought the count de la Corſana with him for this very purpoſe.

THE queen of England, in her anſwer to theſe memorials, obſerved that it was contrary to the common intereſt of the allies to ſhew any marks of jealouſy or diviſion among themſelves, when they

they were about negotiating a peace; that an affair of ſuch importance required as cloſe an union, as that by which they had been happily connected during the whole courſe of the war. She declared that ſhe looked upon the articles propoſed by France as general offers, made with a view of engaging all the allies to enter into the treaty, ſince they contained all that the allies could demand.

AFTER a ſhort recapitulation of all that England had contributed towards the ſupport of the war, eſpecially that of Spain; the queen complained of the trifling efforts which the emperor had made for himſelf, for his own perſonal concerns, and thoſe of his family. If he laid ſuch a ſtreſs on the number of his troops employed in Lombardy, and in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the queen pretended to have the ſame right of reckoning in her liſt, the forces on the eſtabliſhment in Great Britain and Ireland, and in the Britiſh colonies.

THE troops of which Prince Eugene made ſo pompous a liſt, coſt the emperor but little. He not only reaped the whole advantage of the war himſelf; but ſecretary St. John moreover demonſtrated, that while that prince's allies maintained the intire expence of a war, from which they derived no advantage, the emperor in reality only added one ſingle regiment of cavalry to the uſual body of troops, which he was obliged to have on foot for the defence of his dominions.

IN

In vain did prince Eugene endeavour to contradict this calculation; the particular liſt of the Imperial troops ſhewed that it was but too well founded.

A person of ſuch quick penetration as prince Eugene had no need of great experience in affairs, to perceive that his ſtay in London was very diſagreeable to the queen, and ſtill more ſo to her miniſters. Of this he had undoubted proofs in every anſwer that had been made to his memorials. By the reproaches caſt on the queen's allies, there was not the leaſt room to queſtion but ſhe preferred the repoſe of her kingdom, and the advantage of her ſubjects, to the continuance of a confederacy, not only unprofitable, but extremely burdenſome to Great Britain. He muſt have been convinced, that the government were informed of the intrigues and cabals into which he had entered. The affronts he received on different occaſions, were a ſufficient proof thereof. Let it ſuffice to relate, for inſtance, the incivility ſhewn him by the court, on occaſion of an entertainment deſigned for him by the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London. To render it more ſumptuous they had joined the merchants trading to Sileſia, who were alſo to contribute to the expences. Every thing being ready for the exhibition of the feaſt, one of the city officers, either of his own head, or ſet on by ſome body elſe, repreſented to the court of aldermen, that before the invitation was given,

given, he thought it neceſſary to know whether it would be agreeable to the queen. The repreſentation appeared very juſt. The city deputed the ſheriffs to the earl of Dartmouth, ſecretary of ſtate, to know his opinion about the matter. The ſecretary wrote the next day to the lord mayor, "that the lords of the "council had inquired whether the ſheriffs had "their meſſage in writing; that it had been an- "ſwered they had neither order nor reſolution "in writing; that they were come only in con- "ſequence of a minute taken at the court of al- "dermen, of which they had no copy. Upon "this report, the queen had commanded the "lords of her council to acquaint the ſheriffs, "that ſhe would not anſwer a meſſage which "was not delivered to her with the ſame reſpect, "as the city had always ſhewn to the kings her "predeceſſors."

ON every occaſion therefore, whether important or not, prince Eugene ſaw plainly, that he ſhould receive no other ſatisfaction from his expedition than that of being witneſs to the violent obſtinacy of the adverſaries of peace and of the court: but at the ſame time he ſaw the uſeleſs efforts of this party, greatly inferior to that of the new miniſtry, and too feeble to guard even the duke of Marlborough from the accuſations brought againſt him in parliament, and from being turned out of all his places; or to ſave Robert Walpole, Eſq; one of the moſt violent

violent whigs in the houſe of commons, from being ſent to the tower for embezzeling the public money.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many obſtacles which croſſed prince Eugene's deſigns, and the repeated notices he received that the yacht, which the queen had ordered to be prepared for carrying him back to Holland, was ready to ſail whenever he pleaſed to embark; yet he could not reſolve upon his departure, even after having ſpent two months with little pleaſure and leſs profit at London. He was determined before he would abſolutely give up all thoughts of deſtroying the new miniſtry, to try every poſſible means of ſucceeding, and to ſpare no ſort of violence to carry a point which he could not obtain by his repreſentations.

HE conſulted chiefly the duke of Marlborough and Bothmar, wanting to know their opinion in regard to what was to be done for the joint intereſt of the allies. Marlborough, comparing the ſtate of England at that time to the ſituation the kingdom was in, in the year 1688, ſaid that the preſent diſorders required the ſame remedies as thoſe which the nation and the prince of Orange had uſed on that occaſion. On the other hand Bothmar maintained that thoſe remedies were impracticable, and founded his opinion on this, that the body of the nation was not at all diſpoſed to favour a revolution: "therefore the miſcarriage, ſaid he, of ſuch an en-

"terprize,

"terprize, will load the authors of the unlucky "project with the public hatred."

MARLBOROUGH on the contrary affirmed, "that the nation would give themſelves very lit- "tle trouble about the lives of three perſons, "the remainder of Cromwell's party, and that the "tories in particular would be ſtill more indif- "ferent about them. But to reconcile the two "opinions, Marlborough propoſed to employ a "band of ruffians, who were to be encouraged to "ſtroll about the ſtreets by night, and under "pretence of buffoonry, to inſult people going "along; in ſhort, to increaſe this licentiouſneſs "by degrees, ſo as daily to commit greater diſ- "orders. He pretended, that when the inhabi- "tants of London were accuſtomed to the in- "ſults of theſe night diſturbers, it would not be "at all difficult to aſſaſſinate ſuch perſons as they "ſhould think fit to get rid of, and to throw the "whole blame thereof on that licentious band."

To the honour of prince Eugene, it is ſaid, he rejected ſo odious a project; yet a much bolder ſcheme, and of a more deteſtable nature, is laid to his charge. It conſiſted, if we can depend upon the relations of ſome people, who perhaps were miſinformed, in ſetting fire to different parts of the city of London, and pitching upon a time to put that purpoſe in execution, when the guards upon duty were commanded by an officer whom they could truſt. Marlborough at the head

of a ſtrong party in arms, ſhould appear when the fire was ſpreading its devaſtation wideſt; then ſeize on the tower of London; next on the queen's perſon; afterwards oblige her to diſſolve the parliament and call a new one, in order to make a free inquiry into the correſpondences and negotiations eſtabliſhed with France, and to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who had been concerned in them.

WHATEVER may be the truth, in regard to theſe different propoſals, it is certain that prince Eugene's notions, as well as thoſe of Marlborough and Bothmar, were ſubmitted to the opinion of Sommers, Cooper, and Hallifax, the principal whigs; but they refuſed to declare their minds, much leſs to approve of any of thoſe projects. They ſaid they had incurred the diſpleaſure of the people by proſecuting Sacheverel, tho' in a juridical way; that this had been a ſufficient ſpecimen to let them ſee, what they muſt expect from the public hatred and revenge, were they to render themſelves accomplices of bloody and treaſonable acts; that the moſt prudent and only legal ſtep they could take, was to impeach the evil counſellors, and to proceed againſt them according to the ordinary forms. Their opinion was, that Bothmar ſhould preſent a ſecond memorial, more clear and more poſitive than the former, containing the ſevereſt complaints againſt the adminiſtration, whoſe maxims and conduct were

were all tending to enſlave the nation. Bothmar had hitherto agreed to every ſcheme, in which the Engliſh only were concerned; but he refuſed to acquieſce in one, which he was to execute himſelf. He ſaid that he ſhould run the riſk of his head, were he to preſent ſuch a memorial, without any orders from his maſter; that his complaiſance could go no further than to compoſe an anonimous writing, which ſhould contain all that could be inſerted in the memorial; that it ſhould be printed in Holland, and publiſhed afterwards in England.

THIS offer being rejected, was afterwards diſapproved of by the penſionary of Holland, who believed that this ſort of liberties only tended to widen the breach.

COUNT Zintzendorff went ſo far as to adviſe prince Eugene to concert his meaſures properly; ſo that if any of thoſe projects were approved of, he ſhould withdraw out of England before ever they were put into execution, only to take care he managed his retreat in ſuch a manner as not to diſoblige the whigs.

PRINCE Eugene's laſt reſource was to perſuade the emperor to give the government of the Netherlands to the duke of Hanover, with the general command of the army, and at the ſame time to ſend the prince his ſon over to England.

MARLBOROUGH and Godolphin did not reliſh this new project, no more than ſo many others

before rejected. "The tories," ſaid they, "to a "man, are enemies to that family; ſhould the "prince of Hanover come over to London, whilſt "they are in poſſeſſion of the government, the "agitations cauſed by his preſence would not end "but in the abrogation of the act of ſettlement, "and perhaps in a civil war, as fatal to England, "as that of the two houſes of York and Lan-"caſter."

But the duke of Marlborough was determined by a much ſtronger motive, to oppoſe this new project. The credit of his enemies in England increaſed daily, while his own declined; ſo that he had reaſon to be apprehenſive of greater viciſſitudes. To avoid theſe, he was deſirous to be out of the reach of the government, and to ſhelter himſelf from its tempeſtuous changes. The emperor had given him an eſtate in the empire, out of the ſpoils of the elector of Bavaria, and had dignified him with the title of prince; a ſettlement which ſecured him no more than a quiet retreat, but did not ſatisfy his ambition. He would have been glad to have had the command of the Imperial forces in the catholic Netherlands, with the title of the emperor's vicar-general in thoſe provinces. Therefore he could by no means approve of a project, which would have beſtowed both on the duke of Hanover. In the mean time, Prince Eugene, vexed at ſo many difficulties, without any one ex-

expedient to remove them, could not forbear ſaying, that he perceived the whigs were no more friends than the tories to the houſe of Hanover, but that they were enemies to all regal government, and only wiſhed for a republic. He told them, he was informed from good hands, that at the opening of the campaign there would be a ceſſation of arms between France and England; and that as a pledge of this ceſſation, France would deliver up ſome conſiderable town into the hands of the Engliſh. It was then reſolved unanimouſly to ſet their heads to work, and contrive ſo that the foreign troops in Britiſh pay ſhould diſobey the queen's orders, to the end that this diſobedience might diſconcert the meaſures taken with France.

IN the mean time the miniſtry in England received ſeveral advices of real or fictitious plots, and eſpecially were warned to take care on the queen's birth-day. Theſe advices, which perhaps were groundleſs, made ſuch an impreſſion as to cauſe an advertiſement to be inſerted in the *London Gazette*, that if the author of that piece of intelligence would make himſelf known, he ſhould be rewarded for his zeal and fidelity.

AT the ſame time they took great precautions for the queen's ſecurity, and, to prevent all danger. Her guards were doubled, ſeveral of the gates of St. James's palace were ſhut, and different parties of the horſe-guards were poſted in the neighbourhood. They even ap-

pointed a guard to attend prince Eugene that whole day, under the pretence of defending him from the inſults of the mob. At length all theſe agitations ſubſided upon his departure for Holland.

THE miniſters then having defeated their adverſaries, continued to give aſſurances, that neither the cabals formed or ſupported by prince Eugene, during his ſtay in London, nor his preſſing inſtances and repreſentations, ſhould hinder the conſummation of the work of peace. Yet at the ſame time the king was informed, that Buys, whoſe conduct had appeared ſo odious to the government of England, had ſigned, before his departure from London, a treaty of alliance between that crown and the Republic. The inquietude which this ſtep might cauſe, was removed by the aſſurances given to the king, that all new conditions and ſecret engagements were out of the queſtion: that the queen, as a mark of her affection for the Dutch, only intended to undeceive them in regard to the falſe notion they had imbibed, of her having ſigned a private treaty with France. She hoped that this complaiſance on her ſide would render them more tractable, and diſpoſe them to adopt her ſentiments concerning the general peace. Her majeſty was deſirous that the ſigning of the treaties ſhould prevent the opening of the campaign. The biſhop of Briſtol and the earl of Strafford

Strafford had orders to forward this great work with their beſt endeavours; but they had not the neceſſary means of rendering thoſe endeavours effectual, for want of knowing the intention of the queen their miſtreſs, in regard to the article of Spain, the baſis of the treaty of peace. The ſecret was reſerved for Prior only, who was then expected in Holland, in quality of third plenipotentiary from England. Gaultier was to go over with him; ſo that in expectation of a third collegue, the two Engliſh plenipotentiaries, inſtead of opening themſelves to the French miniſters, ſtill converſed in the ſtile of enemies. They followed their orders literally, and made them the rule of their conduct. And indeed it is dangerous to behave otherwiſe, in a country ſo ſubject to changes; where, according to the ſuperiority of parties, a perſon is judged worthy, either of reward or puniſhment; dreadful uncertainty, which the French plenipotentiaries had no reaſon to fear, directed only by their king, having none to pleaſe but him, and ſure of pleaſing him by a punctual execution of the clear and poſitive orders, which his majeſty had given them, without any ſecret or reſerve.

As they expreſſed ſome impatience at the cold behaviour of the Engliſh, the king was pleaſed, more than once, to partake of their uneaſineſs, and to exhort them, for the good of the negotiation entruſted to their care, to gain the confidence of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, and not-

withſtanding their coldneſs to ſhew a ſtrong and cordial deſire of acting in concert with them, as the queen of England and her miniſters had often recommended.

THE conferences for the general peace were at length opened at Utrecht the 29th of January 1712. At that time France had no reaſon to be uneaſy about the chimerical pretenſions of the Dutch and their allies. There was rather reaſon to believe, that before it was long, this grand alliance would acquieſce entirely to ſuch conditions of peace, as the queen of Great Britain ſhould judge to be equitable. But notwithſtanding the flattering appearances of a ſpeedy tranquillity, neither the war nor the king's perſonal afflictions were yet at an end. He had experienced ſome of all kinds. Thoſe of a monarch heretofore victorious, and accuſtomed to give law, but reduced by the fortune of war to ſubmit to the iniquitous laws of his proud enemies, had been heigthened by domeſtic ſorrows, from which no ſtation tho' never ſo exalted is ſecure, and to which the greateſt kings are equally liable with the meaneſt of their ſubjects. Death had ſnatched away in the month of April of the precedent year 1711, Lewis, dauphin of France, his majeſty's only ſon, and father to the king of Spain; a tender father and obedient ſon. He had without jealouſy ſeen his ſon raiſed to one of the firſt thrones in Europe; while he dreaded the day, on which, according to the courſe of nature,

nature, he himſelf was to wield the ſcepter of France. Tenderly attached to the king his father, whom he was ever ſtudious to pleaſe, he contented himſelf at the age of fifty to obey him in the quality of a ſubject. His goodneſs had attracted the love of every Frenchman, and his valour their eſteem. The king, ſenſibly affected with ſo great a loſs, had deliberated whether he ſhould make the duke of Burgundy take the title of dauphin. The name and honours are due only to the eldeſt ſon of the reigning king. One of the miniſters at the conſultation repreſented, that the duke of Burgundy was become the neceſſary heir; that no other could come after to deprive him of his right; that of courſe he could not be refuſed a title and perſonal honours which nobody would diſpute with him. The other miniſters were of the ſame opinion, and the people applauded the honours juſtly conferred on the duke of Burgundy, a prince whoſe virtues merited their reſpect and admiration.

A CELEBRATED author takes notice of a fatality, which ſeemed to attend the favourite princes of the Romans; they were frequently ſnatched away from an affectionate people by an untimely death. The duke of Burgundy, at that time dauphin, had the ſame fate; he died the laſt day of February in the year 1712, after having ſurvived only ſix days his wife, the dau-

phineſs Mary Adelaide of Savoy, who had been ſnatched away in the bloom of youth the 22d of the ſame month, from a king, whoſe tender affection ſhe merited, by her conſtant and unfeigned endeavours to pleaſe him ever ſince ſhe came to France at the end of the year 1696, when ſhe was only about eleven years old. He loved her the more for having had the bringing of her up himſelf, as perſons advanced in years are generally fond of children, whoſe education has been committed to their care, or made under their inſpection. Her death was therefore moſt ſenſibly lamented by the king; and the whole court, adorned by her virtues, ſincerely partook of his majeſty's ſorrow.

These fatal events were followed ſoon after by the death of the duke of Britany, the laſt dauphin's eldeſt ſon, on whom the title had been conferred ſince the death of his father. He was only five years old when he died of a diſorder which the phyſicians could tell nothing of, the 8th of March 1712, and they were all buried together in the ſame grave.

Out of three princes whom the duke of Burgundy had in wedlock, the duke of Anjou was the only one left, more ſickly in appearance than he that died.. God preſerved this lamp which was almoſt extinguiſhed; to continue in the direct line of the royal family, that ſucceſſion which a few years before was looked upon as firmly ſettled.

THE misfortunes of France raiſed the courage of the enemies of peace, and ſlackened the proceedings of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries at Utrecht. Hitherto the Dutch had behaved as a people forced to conſent to the conferences, but inwardly perſuaded that they ought not to acquieſce to the peace except on the conditions ſpecified by the preliminaries of 1709. Upon all occaſions they ſhewed their animoſity, vehemently oppoſing every thing that they imagined conducive to the king's intereſts. Rather the ſpirit of war than of reconciliation, ſeemed to reign in the Seven Provinces, nor was there any likelihood of its changing till England ſpoke with more reſolution, and her plenipotentiaries expreſſed themſelves in clearer and ſtronger terms.

THE French miniſters were impatient for Prior's arrival, perſuaded that his inſtructions from the queen could alone infuſe freſh vigour into her inactive miniſters. The marſhal d'Huxelles, naturally of a ſuſpicious temper, and prejudiced in favour of the Dutch, notwithſtanding their conduct, was afraid, he ſaid, of the ſpirit of the Engliſh; and tho' he carried his jealouſy of that nation beyond its juſt limits, yet he was willing, in order to detach the crown of England from her allies, that the king ſhould conſent in general to every condition ſhe demanded, ſave only ſuch as ſhould give her a footing in the kingdom.

BUT it was not the intereſt of England only, that her plenipotentiaries inſiſted upon. Their ſolicitations were equally ſtrong, in favour of the duke of Savoy, of the king of Portugal, and of the elector of Brandenburg. In a word, under pretence of their inſtructions in regard to thoſe princes, there was room to believe that their intention was rather to embarraſs, than happily to conclude the negotiation.

GAULTIER was expected at Utrecht as the angel of peace, together with Prior, who had been entruſted with the queen of Great Britain's ſecret, which ſhe did not diſcloſe either to the biſhop of Briſtol, or to the earl of Strafford. Such an auxiliary the French plenipotentiaries wanted, at a juncture when they thought him moſt neceſſary, and were waiting for him with the greateſt impatience. Prior's patrons durſt not, or perhaps did not chooſe, to name him third plenipotentiary, when they perceived the change which the untimely fate of the princes of France would make in the negotiation. The queen was ſtill deſirous and her miniſters were intereſted to conclude the war; but England and her allies all concurred in requiring new precautions for ſecuring the ſtability of the peace, and for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being ever united under one head. They were all afraid, or pretended to be afraid, that this would inevitably happen, if

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at the preſent juncture proper precautions were not taken to guard againſt an event that might endanger the liberties of Europe.

MR. Harley, couſin to the high treaſurer, was ſent to Utrecht with the queen of England's ſecret inſtructions. The miniſters of that princeſs aſſured abbé Gaultier, that his commiſſion was to propoſe different alternatives, out of which it would be eaſy to form one capable of ſatisfying the allies of Great Britain, and of inducing them to drop their unjuſt pretenſions. It was even added, that Harley had powers to treat with the plenipotentiaries of France, independently of thoſe of England. This laſt circumſtance the king did not believe, for it was not at all probable that a private perſon, without any public character, ſhould dare to enter into a ſecret treaty, without the knowledge of the plenipotentiaries, upon the very ſpot where they were met to negotiate a peace; eſpecially at a time when ſuch animoſities reigned in England betwixt two powerful parties, and the adminiſtration was ſo unſettled, as every day to give room for apprehending ſome extraordinary change. In ſhort, affairs were at a ſtand, and the conferences with the Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht, generally ended in diſputes concerning the intereſts of the allies.

YET they were juſt upon the point of ſettling matters, at a conference in which the Engliſh

Engliſh miniſters had been very reaſonable, and gave great hopes of a perfect agreement, when of a ſudden they ſtopped ſhort, and after whiſpering ſomething to each other, they declared to the French plenipotentiaries, that Mr. Harley, who arrived from London the 2d of April, had brought ſuch orders as might break off all negotiations, ſhould the king reject a demand in which all the powers of Europe were concerned; and that this demand had been already ſignified to his majeſty in a memorial delivered by abbé Gaultier.

The Engliſh miniſtry had accordingly ſent the abbé to France the 23d of March, and delivered this memorial to him, with which, according to the report of the ſecret committee, Prior is ſuppoſed to have been charged. It contained the reaſons which all Europe had to be alarmed for its liberty, ſhould the prince who was actually king of Spain, ever become king of France; that this danger was far from being chimerical, ſince the deceaſe of the two laſt dauphins, king Philip being ſo near an heir to the crown; that the only way to quiet this common alarm, was for this prince to conſent to a pure and ſimple renunciation of his birth-right, and to tranſfer it to his brother the duke of Berry; for without this expedient neither the Engliſh nor their allies would ever conſent to conclude a peace, which would be therefore impracticable.

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THE Engliſh plenipotentiaries, ſurprized that the French miniſters had received no orders from the king, on ſo important an article, ſuſpected ſome artifice on their part to create delay; but Gaultier who arrived at Utrecht the the 4th of April, knew before he left Verſailles, that the king had wrote word to ſecretary St. John, that the renunciation which they demanded, was contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that he had written himſelf to his grandſon, to know his intentions concerning this new difficulty which retarded the peace.

GAULTIER therefore acquainted the French and Engliſh plenipotentiaries, with the reaſon that occaſioned the delay of his majeſty's inſtructions. The ſubject was of ſufficient importance to take time to conſider of it.

THE king, tho' ſupreme lord of his dominions, has not the power of altering its fundamental laws. To declare this truth would be declaring againſt all negotiation of peace. To conceal it, would have been an uſeleſs artifice, directly contrary to the ſincerity hitherto obſerved during the whole courſe of the treaty.

IT was determined in council to purſue the ſame method, ſo agreeable to the uprightneſs of his majeſty's ſentiments. The king had therefore enjoined the ſecretary of ſtate, who correſponded with St. John, to acquaint him, that no engagement contrary to the laws of the kingdom was valid, and to let him know what was

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the fundamental rule of the ſucceſſion to the crown.

THE terms heretofore made uſe of by a celebrated magiſtrate, Jerome Bignon, attorney-general, ſerved to anſwer the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate. The purport of the letter was, that the renunciation which they demanded, was null and invalid by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, purſuant to which, "the prince who is "next to the crown, is the neceſſary heir; that "this is an inheritance which he receives neither from the king his predeceſſor, nor from "the people, but in virtue of the law; ſo that "when one king dies, the other immediately "ſucceeds him without demanding any body's "conſent; that he ſucceeds not as heir, but as "maſter of the kingdom, the ſovereignty of "which belongs to him, not by choice, but "only by birth-right.

"THAT he is obliged for his crown, neither "to the will of his predeceſſor, nor to any edict, "nor to any decree, nor to the liberality of any "perſon whomſoever, but only to the law. "This law is eſteemed the work of him who "eſtabliſhed monarchies; the French hold that "none but God can aboliſh it, and of courſe "that it cannot be deſtroyed or made void by "any renunciation;" and that ſhould the king of Spain renounce his right for the love of peace, and in obedience to his grandfather, it would be only deceiving themſelves and building upon a ſandy

a ſandy foundation, to accept of ſuch a renunciation, as a ſufficient expedient for preventing the evil which they intended to avoid.

THE king foreſaw upon the death of the laſt dauphin, the new objections which, in conſequence of the untimely fate of ſo many princes, would be raiſed againſt the peace; and he judged that the late ſudden mortality in the royal family, would ſerve as a ſpecious pretext for his enemies, to inſiſt upon conditions likely to remove all hopes of reconciliation out of ſight. He imparted his thoughts about this matter to the king of Spain, in a letter which he wrote the 11th of March, to acquaint him with the death of the laſt dauphin: and when the Engliſh miniſtry inſiſted upon the king of Spain's renunciation of his birth-right, as a condition eſſentially neceſſary to the concluding of the peace, his majeſty wrote again to that prince the 9th of April, that this demand which perſonally affected his catholic majeſty, was of ſuch a nature as required only his conſulting his own breaſt to decide it; that he ought therefore to weigh and thoroughly to conſider what Bonnac, his envoy extraordinary at the court of Madrid, ſhould ſet before him. The king adviſed him to reflect on the ſituation of affairs in Spain, to conſult his own inclinations, to reſolve, and immediately to make known his reſolution, each moment being precious in the preſent critical conjuncture.

THE negotiations of peace were ſuſpended, in expectation of this deciſion. Since Harley's arrival the conferences had been at a ſtand, a turn quite contrary to what had been expected from the inſtructions he was to bring with him. From that time the plenipotentiaries of England behaved with more reſerve than ever in regard to thoſe of France, and were more ſtrenuous in maintaining the intereſts and pretenſions of their allies. The biſhop of Briſtol and the earl of Strafford, were in their hearts deſirous of peace, and ſhewed it by their diſcourſe. They knew that the queen of England and her miniſters had ſtrong reaſons to wiſh it was ſpeedily concluded; but the laſt orders which they received by Harley, tied up their hands. They not only durſt not exceed thoſe orders, but they hardly ventured to uſe their ſcanty powers. They were held in awe by the terror of thoſe changes ſo frequent in England, in which the conduct of miniſters, either in domeſtic or foreign tranſactions, is ſeverely enquired into. They reflected that they were anſwerable for every ſtep they took, at the peril of their lives; that the ſecret of the negotiations was growing public; and that memorials were every day printed in Holland, wherein the negotiators, who had any ſecret correſpondence with France, were mentioned by name.

IN caſe of a change of government, they imagined that neither the queen's orders, nor thoſe of the

the adminiſtration, would be a ſufficient rule of conduct for them; that they ſhould be impeached for having executed thoſe orders. This is the anſwer they made, when the French plenipotentiaries cited the articles ſigned at London, as a rule to be followed at Utrecht, and complained of the alterations and additions which the Engliſh wanted to make.

HARLEY, inſtead of encouraging the plenipotentiaries, ſeemed only to increaſe their alarms. He had been abſent ſeveral times upon viſits to the Hague; nor had he in any thing helped to forward the negotiation. That harmony which was to be betwixt him and the plenipotentiaries, turned out a phantom, a ſcheme invented merely to amuſe Gaultier; for ever ſince Harley came to Utrecht, he had never been to ſee them. In the mean time the queen of England continued to expreſs a ſincere deſire of peace: ſhe preſſed the king to prevent the opening of the campaign, which every day was growing more difficult to effect, eſpecially ſince that princeſs had made the peace of Europe depend on the king of Spain's renunciation.

ALL that his majeſty could then do, was to preſs that prince to declare his mind. He therefore repeated his exhortations in a letter, which he wrote to the king of Spain the 18th of April. After obſerving that England was grown more urgent than ever for the renunciation, he added, "the neceſſity of a peace increaſes every day,

" and the means of ſupporting the war being " exhauſted, I ſhall be obliged at length to treat " upon terms equally diſagreeable both to my- " ſelf and to your majeſty, unleſs you prevent " this extremity, by determining immediately " from the account of affairs which you will " receive of Bonnac. He will tell you what I " think in ſo difficult a conjuncture, where all " reaſoning is excluded.

" As I depend upon the affection which you " have for me and for your family, I expect " you will follow the counſel I muſt needs give " you, which is not at all contrary to the real " friendſhip I have for you."

This counſel was to preſerve the actual poſſeſſion of Spain and the Indies, and to renounce, in compliance with the obſtinacy of the Engliſh, the uncertain ſucceſſion to the crown of France, a condition, with which they would be ſatisfied, from a perſuaſion that they ſhould be able to make it good.

" We will admit, ſaid St. John, in his an- " ſwer to Torcy, that you Frenchmen hold, that " none but God alone can aboliſh the law, on " which your right of ſucceſſion is founded; " but permit us to believe in England, that a " prince may forego his rights by a voluntary " renunciation, and that the perſon in whoſe fa- " vour he has renounced, may with juſtice be " ſupported in his pretenſions, by the princes " who were guarantees to the treaty."

He

HE concluded, "in ſhort the queen com-
"mands me to tell you, that this is an article
"of ſuch great conſequence, as well to herſelf
"as to all Europe, to the preſent age, and to
"poſterity, that ſhe cannot conſent to continue
"the negotiations of peace, unleſs you accept
"of the expedient which ſhe has propoſed, or
"ſome other equally ſolid."

THE king of Spain, ſome time before the peace was even talked of, had ſettled the order of ſucceſſion to his crown. This regulation, which was accepted and promulged at the aſſembly of the Cortes or ſtates of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon, and regiſtered in all the councils, was ſufficient to remove any apprehenſion of an union of the crowns of France and Spain; a thing directly contrary to the manners, to the inclination, and conſequently to the wiſhes of both nations, extremely averſe from deſiring to live under the command of one ſovereign.

IT was therefore propoſed to St. John to abide by this regulation; but he made anſwer, that ſuch a ſecurity was inſufficient; that the queen his miſtreſs had done towards effecting a peace, what no other power could have done; that ſhe had proceeded all along upon an abſolute confidence in the promiſe which his majeſty had made her, of conſenting to all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be judged neceſſary to prevent for ever an union big with miſchief to all Europe; that ſhe ſaw no ſolid expedient, no ſure way of

ſucceeding therein, than the renunciation which ſhe demanded of the king of Spain.

THAT it would indeed be building on a ſandy foundation, to omit the precautions neceſſary for preventing this miſchief, the danger of which did not ſeem to be ſo very remote.

THE queen, added St. John, was ſending ſuch orders to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, as were agreeable to the contents of this letter. Yet he did not refuſe to concur with France, in endeavouring to find out, if poſſible, ſome other expedient for completing and conſolidating the work of peace.

AS the deciſion of the whole affair depended on the king of Spain's anſwer, the negotiation ſeemed to be ſuſpended at Utrecht. The plenipotentiaries on both ſides were at a ſtand, till this prince ſhould explain himſelf. The Engliſh miniſters propoſed to the French, to employ this time in jointly removing as much as poſſible the other difficulties of ſmall conſequence, which ſtill retarded the peace. Both ſides were thoroughly acquainted with the intentions of their reſpective ſovereigns. They agreed to meet at the biſhop of Briſtol's, under pretence of ſettling only a treaty of commerce betwixt France and England. The Engliſh were of opinion, that ſuch a pretence would be ſufficient to remove the jealouſy, which their allies would probably entertain in regard to theſe particular conferences. They proved ſucceſsful, and on both

both ſides things were brought to ſuch an iſſue, that the treaty between France and England was ready to be ſigned, agreeable to the queen of Great Britain's wiſhes, if that eſſential article the renunciation, had not ſtood as a ſtumbling-block in the way.

BOTH in France and England they were ſincerely endeavouring to find out ſome expedient for ſupplying, if poſſible, a condition ſo embarraſſing to the king of Spain. The ſecretaries of ſtate in both nations, communicated their thoughts to each other. The king had no agent at London, nor the queen any body in France to execute her orders. Abbé Gaultier was ſtill at Utrecht: his majeſty thought proper to remove him from thence to England, where he continued to ſerve his maſter with equal ſkill and fidelity.

THE negotiation was ſtill at a ſtand, in expectation of his catholic majeſty's anſwer. The king was of opinion, that the way to ſet it on foot, would be privately to aſſure the queen of England, that if his grandſon would not ſubmit to the neceſſity of renouncing his birthright, his majeſty would in concert with that princeſs enter into ſuch meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary to determine him, and to ſecure the concluſion of a peace, in which they had already made ſo great a progreſs. One would therefore imagine that the greateſt obſtruction to the treaty was now removed; but the enemies who

oppoſed it were ſo numerous, that as ſoon as one difficulty was ſolved, others were expected to be ſtarted by thoſe who had no other view than to break off the conferences.

This was the purport of what the king ordered to be wrote to St. John, for the information of the queen of Great Britain.

To theſe reflections it was further added, that the beſt way to defeat the deſigns of the enemies of peace, would be for the queen to propoſe to her allies without loſs of time a ſuſpenſion of arms, ſince this would deſtroy the hopes which they founded on the operations of the campaign.

Sr. John in the anſwer which he made by the queen's order, renewed the aſſurances ſo often given, of her ſincere deſire to contribute towards the general tranquillity, and eſpecially towards ſettling it upon a ſolid foundation.

He added, that her majeſty would be glad of ſuch a peace as France ſhould think reaſonable. It was likewiſe with an intent of rendering it leſs diſagreeable to the king of Spain, that ſhe ordered an alternative to be added in the caſe of the renunciation, leaving it to that prince's choice either to renounce his birth-right and preſerve the Spaniſh monarchy with the Indies; or to renounce the Spaniſh monarchy and the Indies, to preſerve his right to the French ſucceſſion, and to receive in exchange for the crown of Spain the kingdom of Sicily, of

which

which he was actually in poſſeſſion, the kingdom of Naples, the territories of the duke of Savoy, the duchy of Montferrat, and the duchy of Mantua, on condition that if he, or any of his deſcendants ſhould ever ſucceed to the crown of France, all thoſe dominions for which he had made the exchange, ſhould be united to the ſame crown, except Sicily only, which ſhould be ceded to the houſe of Auſtria.

ACCORDING to this project the duke of Savoy, in exchange for his territories, was to receive the crown of Spain and the Indies.

SO important a choice was, purſuant to juſtice, referred to the deciſion of the king of Spain; but whatever might be his anſwer, the king gave his word to the queen of England, that he would conclude the peace, under one of the alternatives propoſed by her majeſty.

IT had appeared already by the anſwer of the king of Spain to his grandfather's firſt letter, that he preferred the poſſeſſion of his crown to the preſervation of his birth-right, and that he would renounce all hopes of ſucceſſion, rather than quit the throne on which God had placed him. Nothing remained therefore but to know his opinion of the exchange, which was quite a new propoſal, and had not been hitherto ſo much as once thought of.

HIS majeſty omitted nothing to render this propoſal ſpecious, and to adorn it, as it were, with every reflexion capable of dazzling and ſtrongly

ſtrongly affecting the king of Spain. Bonnac was ordered to ſet before him the exchange projected by the queen of England, and to deliver him a letter in his majeſty's own handwriting.

"I CONFESS (theſe are his majeſty's terms), "that notwithſtanding the diſproportion of the "dominions, I have been ſenſibly affected in "thinking that you would ſtill continue to "reign; that I might always look upon you as "my ſucceſſor, and that your ſituation would "permit you now and then to come and be "near my perſon. I leave you to judge of the "pleaſure it would give me, to be able to re"poſe my truſt in you for future contingencies; "to be convinced that if the dauphin lives, I "ſhould leave in you a regent accuſtomed to "command, capable of maintaining peace and "order in my kingdom, and of ſuppreſſing all "cabals. That if this child ſhould happen "to die, as his weak conſtitution gives but "too much reaſon to fear, you would ſucceed "to my inheritance according to your birth"right, and I ſhould have the comfort of leav"ing to my people a virtuous king, capable of "commanding them, and who after my de"ceaſe ſhould unite ſuch conſiderable ſtates, "as Savoy, Piedmont, and Montferrat, to his "crown. I am ſo pleaſed with this idea, but "eſpecially with the comfort I ſhould find in "ſpending a part of the remainder of my days

"with you and the queen, and with acquaint-
"ing you myſelf with the ſtate of my affairs,
"that I can imagine nothing equal to the plea-
"ſure you will give me in accepting of this new
"project."

"SHOULD gratitude and affection for your
"ſubjects be ſtrong inducements with you to
"adhere to them, I can tell you, that you owe
"thoſe ſame ſentiments to me, to your fa-
"mily, and to your country, preferably to
"Spain. I now call upon you to ſhew me their
"effects; and I ſhall conſider it as the greateſt
"happineſs of my life, if you will reſolve to
"draw nearer to me, and to preſerve thoſe rights,
"which you will one day in vain regret to have
"renounced, if ever you renounce them."

"I AM however engaged to treat on the foot-
"ing that you will renounce your birth-right,
"in order to keep only Spain and the Indies, if
"your majeſty rejects the propoſal of the ex-
"change with the duke of Savoy; and all I can
"do, is to leave it to your own option, the ne-
"ceſſity of concluding a peace growing every
"day more urgent."

THE king's letter was ſo preſſing, as to be a ſufficient proof of his great deſire to facilitate every expedient for removing the grand difficulty, which had hitherto obſtructed the peace: yet this letter did not ſhake the king of Spain's reſolution. Before he received it, he had already anſwered his grandfather, that he was fully determined

termined "to renounce all right of ſucceſſion to "the crown of France, rather than quit that "of Spain." However, before he repeated this declaration, and gave his ultimate deciſion in regard to the new exchange propoſed by the queen of England, he was reſolved to conſult Him by whom kings reign. After he received the ſacrament, he ſent for Bonnac, and told him, that he had made his choice, that nothing ſhould ever induce him to quit the crown which God had given him; and he delivered his anſwer to the king's letter.

THIS anſwer began with due thanks to his majeſty, for ſo many marks of friendſhip contained in his two laſt letters of the 16th and the 18th of May. He went on: "The idea which "your majeſty ſets before me, of being near "your perſon, would be extremely agreeable, if "I thought I could embrace the new project "which England propoſes; but there are too "many reaſons againſt my accepting it. To me "it ſeems more advantageous, that a branch of "our family ſhould reign in Spain, than to place "this crown on the head of a prince, on whoſe "friendſhip it could never depend; and this ad-"vantage appears to me far ſuperior to that of "annexing Savoy, Piedmont, and Montferrat "to the crown of France. I therefore think, "that I ſhall give a ſtronger mark of my affec-"tion to you and to your ſubjects, by ſticking "to my former reſolution, than by following

"the

"the new plan projected by England. By this "ſtep I give peace alſo to France, and I ſecure "to her the alliance of a monarchy, which other- "wiſe might ſome time or other unite with her "enemies to diſtreſs her; and at the ſame time "I embrace the reſolution which appears moſt "ſuitable to my glory, and to the welfare of "my ſubjects, whoſe zeal and attachment have "ſo greatly contributed to keep the crown on "my head."

IT is not perhaps improper to obſerve, that while the king of Spain was ſacrificing the property of the kingdom of Naples, of the duchy of Milan, and of the Netherlands, to the love of peace; while with a view to the public repoſe he was delivering up ſuch conſiderable dominions to his enemies; further, while the ſame motive was engaging him to renounce for himſelf and his deſcendants for ever, his indubitable birthright to the ſucceſſion of the crown of France; at that very time the princeſs Orſini, a woman ambitious to a folly, was abuſing the influence ſhe had gained over the queen, and conſequently over his catholic majeſty, to inſiſt that, out of the remains of the Spaniſh monarchy, ſome ſmall part, either in the Netherlands or elſewhere, ſhould be erected into an independent ſovereignty in her favour: an idle phantom which occaſioned however a real delay in the ſigning of the treaties betwixt Spain, England, and Holland.

THE

THE Engliſh plenipotentiaries were impatient for the king of Spain's anſwer. The French miniſters, not leſs uneaſy at the loſs of ſo much time, wrote word to the king, that the queen of England had wrote to the earl of Strafford to return directly to London, in order to receive his ultimate inſtructions, it being her majeſty's intention to impower him, and the biſhop of Briſtol, to conclude and ſign the peace, as ſoon as they received the king of Spain's anſwer.

THE reaſon of this ſudden reſolution was, according to Strafford, becauſe the parliament grew impatient to ſee the negotiation ſpun out to ſuch a length; that it was to be apprehended the members of the court-party would retire to their country ſeats, and thoſe in the oppoſition would have a majority in the houſe; ſo that the miniſtry would be in danger of ſeeing all their ſchemes defeated by ſome unforeſeen accident; in a word, that it was time to conclude; that he hoped, at his return to London, to hear of his catholic majeſty's reſolution, the delay and uncertainty of which was infinitely prejudicial to the main affair. To cut ſhort, Strafford begged that the plenipotentiaries would, in his abſence, obtain the king's poſitive orders, in regard to ſuch points as were not yet decided; to the end that, at his return, they ſhould have no further occaſion to diſpute, but only to ſign the treaty. As ſoon as they ſhould ſettle matters, the Engliſh plenipotentiaries were to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms to the

the allies. Strafford imagined it would be difficult to make them to conſent to ſuch a meaſure, becauſe of the high opinion they had of their army in Flanders. He propoſed therefore, as an expedient to ſurmount this difficulty, that the king ſhould offer to depoſit into the hands of the Dutch, ſome of thoſe towns in the Netherlands, which his majeſty was willing to yield to that Republic.

THE plenipotentiaries of France judged extremely right, that ſuch an expedient would not be at all proper; and, without waiting for any further orders, they rejected the propoſal.

THE dilatorineſs of the court of Madrid occaſioned leſs uneaſineſs at London than at Utrecht. The queen of England and her miniſters, firmly perſuaded of the king's ſincerity, of which they had had ſufficient proofs, during the courſe of the negotiations, were ſatisfied that it was impoſſible for his majeſty to come to any certain determination, in regard to the propoſals made to the king of Spain, without being informed by that prince himſelf of his opinion about the matter, and which ſide he intended to embrace. Therefore the queen's intention was to keep Strafford in England till that anſwer came, on which the concluſion of the peace depended. She was then to ſend him back to Utrecht with his laſt inſtructions. Gaultier, apprized of every thing, was at the ſame time to go over to France; and the harmony between the French and Engliſh plen-

plenipotentiaries was to be ſo well eſtabliſhed, that there ſhould be no further occaſion for them to diſpute, nor to be under the melancholy neceſſity of oppoſing inſtruction to inſtruction. This is what the king wrote to the plenipotentiaries in his letter of the 25th of May.

He let them know that the Engliſh would be no longer puzzled to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, and that it would be quite needleſs to look out for expedients, which might diſpoſe their allies to accept them. "It would be a very bad one," added his majeſty, "to offer any cautionary "towns to the Dutch; the time for flattering "their pride is paſt; and hence-forward, while "I treat with them *bona fide*, I muſt do it with "the dignity which becomes me." A very different ſtile from that of the conferences of the Hague and of Gertrudenberg.

The king recommended to them once more, not to be in the leaſt afraid that a proper ſteadineſs would diſconcert the negotiation; a fear which but too often poſſeſſes thoſe, who deſire to have the honour of ſigning a treaty; and who would look upon it as a misfortune, if they were to be deprived of this glory.

The Engliſh inſiſted on reſerving Tournay for their allies, and pretended moreover to Condé. The king, looking upon theſe inſtances as external demonſtrations, which they believed to be due to their allies, wrote to his plenipotentiaries, not to make any uſe of their powers to acquieſce

to this and ſome other articles, all condeſcenſion being uſeleſs, till the king of Spain declared his option; and that then only his majeſty ſhould be able to judge of the benefit he might derive from his complaiſance to the Engliſh.

AT length the long expected courier arrived from Madrid the beginning of the month of June, with the king of Spain's anſwer. This prince's deciſion removed the principal objection againſt the peace. Without loſing a moment's time, the king's orders were complied with, in giving notice thereof to St. John, to the end that he might inform the queen. At the ſame time it was mentioned to him, that his majeſty expected to ſee all the other difficulties on the part of that princeſs immediately removed; and that ſhe would make the declarations ſhe had promiſed. The firſt and moſt urgent was that of a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, either general, or only between the armies in the Netherlands, till the concluſion of the peace.

SCARCE was this letter written and the courier gone, when an expreſs arrived from St. John, with a memorial drawn up by the queen of England's orders. It contained ſeven articles.

THE firſt five related to the ceſſions demanded by the Engliſh in North-America.

THE two laſt, the treaty of commerce to be concluded betwixt France and England; a work

which probably would require more time to diſcuſs, than the preſent juncture would permit. It was therefore propoſed to refer it to commiſſaries on both ſides, who ſhould ſettle theſe diſputes at London after the concluſion of the peace.

THE purport of the next article was, that there ſhould be no prerogative or privilege granted by France or England to any other nation, which ſhould not be communicated on both ſides to the French and the Engliſh.

THE memorial concluded with the queen of England's conſent to the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, for two months only, upon two conditions.

THE firſt, that, during this time, the article relating to the union of the two monarchies of France and Spain, ſhould be intirely and punctually executed.

THE ſecond, that the king ſhould withdraw the French garriſon from Dunkirk; and that the Britiſh troops ſhould enter this town the very ſame day as the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities took place, there to continue till the States-General conſented to give an equivalent to his majeſty's ſatisfaction, for the works which he ſhould be obliged to raze, as alſo for filling up the port, and deſtroying its ſluices.

To theſe demands the king made anſwer; and firſt, in regard to the articles of North-America, he granted almoſt every thing the queen of England

land deſired. There were only ſome obſervations in regard to an exchange. The two conditions concerning the treaty of commerce were alſo granted.

As to the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, the term of two months propoſed by the queen was ſo ſhort, that it would be giving new hopes to thoſe who delight in war, of interrupting the conferences before the end of the campaign. The king was therefore of opinion, that it would be neceſſary to protract the ſuſpenſion to four months.

THE propoſal of intruſting the Engliſh with Dunkirk was very hazardous, as the war ſtill continued, and there had been no convention for a ceſſation of arms. A demand of that importance was debated in council; opinions were divided; but there was a neceſſity for making an end, which could not be done without this condeſcenſion. The queen of England and her miniſters had, during the whole courſe of the negotiation, expreſſed great ſincerity, and an earneſt deſire of peace: the king determined that it would be right to rely upon them once more; and that a diffidence, juſt upon the point of concluding, would be very ill judged; only his majeſty was willing to try, whether it was poſſible to obtain ſome mitigation in a demand that might be reckoned to be of a ſuſpicious nature.

PURSUANT therefore to the king's orders, the anſwer to this article of the memorial contained,

" That the negotiation having commenced and
" been conducted with ſincerity and mutual con-
" fidence, it was proper to baniſh even all ap-
" pearance of miſtruſt, when both ſides were
" drawing towards the wiſhed-for concluſion.
" The king therefore left it to the queen of Eng-
" land's own breaſt, to conſider whether there
" was not ſomething diſobliging in the propoſal
" of putting an Engliſh garriſon into Dunkirk,
" during the ſuſpenſion of arms; and whether
" the public would not believe that her majeſty
" doubted of the king's exactneſs in keeping his
" word. The queen had given ſo many proofs
" of her ſentiments, that there was no room to
" ſuſpect ſhe harboured any ſuch thought; the
" king therefore relying on her friendſhip, not-
" withſtanding the continuance of the war, was
" perſuaded ſhe would not inſiſt on a demand,
" which in itſelf was not only uſeleſs, but like-
" ly, perhaps, to produce an effect directly con-
" trary to what ſhe intended. For her view was
" only to oblige the Dutch to give an equivalent
" for the demolition of the fortifications of Dun-
" kirk; and this was not the way to overcome
" their obſtinacy, to declare that the Britiſh troops
" ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, till the States-
" General had given an equivalent to the king's
" ſatisfaction. On the contrary, it was encou-
" raging them to raiſe new difficulties againſt the
" peace, at the very time when the buſineſs was

" to find out ſome means of rendering that na-
" tion more tractable.

THE reſtitution of Tournay was the equivalent, which the king demanded for filling up the harbour of Dunkirk, and deſtroying the ſluices. At the ſame time that his majeſty renewed the promiſe already made, he obſerved that the deſtruction of the ſluices would be the ruin of the adjacent country, and that both friends and enemies would ſuffer from thence alike.

HE left this to the queen's conſideration, and in the mean while he confirmed the convention in regard to Dunkirk, upon condition that Tournay and its dependances ſhould be reſtored.

WITH regard to the propoſal made by the queen of Great-Britain, of introducing a Dutch garriſon into Cambray, there to continue during the ceſſation of arms; the king rejected the propoſal, and made anſwer, that ſhould this condition be inſiſted on, he would not only refuſe the ceſſation, but moreover break off all negotiation, rather than admit of a clauſe ſo contrary to his honour, and to the welfare of his kingdom.

As a report was ſpread that the enemy intended to lay ſiege to Queſnoy, the ſame anſwer contained, " that the king could not believe
" that this undertaking had been approved of
" by her Britannic majeſty, or that ſhe had
" permitted her troops to be employed in a
" ſiege, the fate of which might be productive

" of new engagements, which it would be pru-
" dent in St. John to prevent."

ST. John anſwered, " that tho' his majeſty
" had not acquieſced to the queen's demands, as
" ſhe expected, yet ſhe would not defer going to
" the parliament-houſe the very day of the date
" of his letter. There ſhe would make all the
" declarations neceſſary for determining the na-
" tion to peace, and for obtaining their unani-
" mous conſent; that ſhe would not as yet men-
" tion a ceſſation of arms, tho' ſhe had reſolved
" upon it within herſelf; that ſhe inſiſted on the
" neceſſity of compleating the article of the renun-
" ciation, the capital point of the whole treaty;
" ſo capital, that her majeſty would rather relin-
" quiſh all the other conditions, than leave this
" in ſuſpence. If the king (added St. John)
" conſents to the demands, which the queen has
" made a condition of the ceſſation, you have
" only to ſign the act, and ſend it to the duke
" of Ormond. He will take poſſeſſion of Dun-
" kirk, and declare to the allies that he has or-
" ders to act no longer againſt France."

THE ſame letter mentioned, " that the earl
" of Strafford was ſet out upon his return to
" Utrecht, and his inſtructions would releaſe the
" Engliſh plenipotentiaries from that caution
" which they had hitherto obſerved in regard to
" the miniſters of the allies, ſo that henceforward
" nothing ſhould hinder them from acting in
" concert

" concert with the plenipotentiaries of France, " ſo as to preſcribe laws to all thoſe who ſhould " refuſe to ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable condi- " tions of peace."

THE queen of England, ſteady in her reſolution of contributing with all her might to the pacification of Europe, went to the parliament-houſe the 17th of June, as St. John had wrote ſhe would, and communicated to both houſes, purſuant to her promiſe, the preſent ſtate of the negotiation of peace. She took care to obſerve at the beginning of her ſpeech, " that it was " the indubitable prerogative of the crown to " make peace and war; and conſequently the " only effect of the confidence ſhe had in her " parliament, was to lay before them, in pur- " ſuance of her promiſe, the propoſals for a ge- " neral peace."

AFTER having proteſted that nothing ſhould divert her from purſuing in the firſt place the real intereſts of her kingdoms, and next from procuring for her allies, whatever was due to them in conſequence of treaties: ſhe declared that ſhe had taken particular care to ſecure to her ſubjects, the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, as by law eſtabliſhed; that for greater ſecurity ſhe had ſtipulated, that the perſon who pretended to diſturb that ſettlement, ſhould remove out of the kingdom of France.

She took particular notice of her great attention to prevent the crowns of France and Spain from being ever united on the ſame head, and to obtain the different renunciations.

She mentioned the ceſſions which France made to England in America; with the advantages ſhe promiſed herſelf in favour of the Britiſh commerce.

The demolition of Dunkirk.

The expectation, which almoſt amounted to a certainty, of obtaining Gibraltar, the whole iſland of Minorca, and Port Mahon.

The promiſe of granting the Engliſh the privilege of furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with Negroes for thirty years; a privilege known by the name of the *aſſiento*.

After enumerating the advantages obtained in favour of her ſubjects, the queen explained what ſhe intended to do for her allies, adding, that the articles of the project framed for their intereſts, were an affair to be regulated at the conferences of Utrecht.

The queen's ſpeech was received with applauſe, and the different addreſſes afterwards preſented to that princeſs, ſhewed the grateful ſentiments of the nation, and their ſatisfaction at ſeeing an end of the war, which for a ſeries of years had been ſo heavy and ſo uſeleſs a burden to Great Britain. Yet the whigs

whigs were not diſheartened; for notwithſtanding the almoſt general bent of the nation to peace, ſome of the members of the upper houſe ventured to proteſt againſt ſeveral articles of this ſpeech; but this proteſt was cancelled, as well as another made before that by ſome members of the ſame houſe, againſt the orders given to the duke of Ormond.

THESE orders, which he had received upon his ſetting out from London, contained, that the queen was of opinion, that the troops in her ſervice in Flanders, as well Britiſh as foreign mercenaries, ſhould be all under the command of her own general; that heretofore it might have been right to act otherwiſe, but at preſent there were very ſtrong reaſons for obſerving a different conduct, and perhaps theſe reaſons would every day become more urgent; that there might even happen an occaſion to conceive a jealouſy of prince Eugene; therefore the duke of Ormond's inſtructions were not to be too forward for ſome time to hazard a battle, unleſs he perceived an apparent and conſiderable advantage; he might plead for excuſe that he waited for the German troops, in order, if there ſhould be an engagement, to let them partake of the glory.

THE duke of Ormond was ſenſible of the difficulty of executing ſuch orders, and of concealing at the ſame time the real motive of his con-

conduct. He foreſaw the diſagreeable conſequences of refuſing to employ the troops under his command, either on ſome ſiege, or in an engagement, if prince Eugene ſhould be willing to attempt either, and depended on the uſual aſſiſtance of the Britiſh forces. He wrote to St. John, that he ſhould punctually obey her majeſty's orders, that he would keep them ſecret as long as he could, and behave ſo as the cauſe of his conduct ſhould not even be ſuſpected; but that it would be very difficult to prevent its being ſoon diſcovered, or to conceal the private reaſons, which ſhould oblige him to oppoſe prince Eugene's deſigns, in caſe he ſhould be willing to give battle, or to lay ſiege to Queſnoy. As it was currently reported that he intended to do one or the other, the duke inſiſted on new eclairciſſments in regard to the inſtructions which he had received before he ſet out for Holland.

The queen of England had lately given a new mark of the ſatisfaction ſhe had received from the conduct of her ſecretary of ſtate, in creating him a peer of England by the title of viſcount Bolingbroke. He charged the duke of Ormond to conform ſtrictly to her majeſty's orders, without troubling himſelf either about the warm inſtances of prince Eugene, or the affected clamour of the deputies of the States General, in regard to which the queen gave herſelf no manner of concern.

AND indeed, far from taking any notice of the remonſtrances of the States General, who wrote her a very angry letter, or from paying the leaſt attention to another letter which the duke of Ormond received from the deputies of their army, full of inſolent reflexions on his having refuſed to act any longer in concert with prince Engene, the queen directed her whole thoughts towards ſettling the plan of the ceſſation of arms, in order to have the act thereof immediately ſigned.

THIS plan was ſigned by lord Bolingbroke. The king made ſome alterations in it, and commanded on his part the ſecretary of ſtate, intruſted with this negotiation, to ſign his majeſty's anſwers.

THE plan contained four articles.

THE firſt, prolonged to three, or even four months, if neceſſary, the ceſſation of arms, which the queen of England had propoſed only for two months.

THE ſecond ſpecified the renunciations to be made during the ceſſation, as well by the king of Spain in regard to the crown of France, as by the princes of the royal family of France with reſpect to the crown of Spain.

ON the behalf of England it was demanded, that his catholic majeſty's renunciation ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner, by the ſtates of the kingdom of France. The autho-

rity

rity which foreigners attribute to the ſtates, being unknown in France, the king changed this clauſe; he promiſed only that he would accept of the renunciation of the king his grandſon; that it ſhould be afterwards publiſhed by his orders, and regiſtered in the moſt ſolemn manner in all the parliaments of his kingdom; further that the letters patent which his majeſty had granted to that prince in the month of December 1700, for preſerving his rights to the crown, notwithſtanding his abſence from the kingdom, ſhould be eraſed from the regiſters of the parliament, and with the conſent of his catholic majeſty aboliſhed and annulled.

By the third article it was agreed, that the French garriſon ſhould march out of Dunkirk, and the Britiſh troops enter the town the very day that the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities took place; that the town ſhould be depoſited in the hands of the queen of England, till it was decided what equivalent the Dutch ſhould give for the demolition of the fortifications and the ſluices, and the filling up of the harbour.

By the fourth article the queen of England engaged, not to interrupt the civil government of Dunkirk; to permit not only the king's ſhips, but likewiſe all trading veſſels to have a free entrance into the harbour; in fine to let all the officers employed in the care of the magazines, as well by ſea as land, continue in their reſpective poſts.

THE duke of Ormond began to be more embarraſſed, when the armies took the field. Marſhal Villars ſoon let him know that he had received the king's orders, and had leave from the queen of England to write to him. The duke made anſwer, that the queen his miſtreſs had given him the ſame orders, which he ſhould not fail exactly to follow.

THESE inſtructions could not be long a ſecret. Prince Eugene being informed of the ſituation of the French army, thought he could attack it to an advantage; reſolving therefore not to loſe the opportunity, he acquainted the duke of Ormond with his ſcheme, perſuaded, or pretending to be perſuaded, that the Britiſh troops would make no difficulty to march as uſual, in conjunction with the allies, againſt the common enemy.

IT would have been difficult for the duke of Ormond to alledge even any ſpecious reaſons in his excuſe, ſo long as the agreement betwixt France and England was to continue a ſecret. Yet he could not employ the troops under his command upon ſuch a ſervice, without acting contrary to his orders. To elude the inſtances of prince Eugene, he pleaded the ſudden departure of the earl of Strafford, whom the queen ſent for over at a juncture when he had the leaſt reaſon to expect it. The duke of Ormond ſuppoſed, that as Strafford was not yet returned to Holland, in all probability ſome affair of the utmoſt

utmoſt importance was on the carpet, of which he expected to be informed in five or ſix days.

He therefore deſired prince Eugene, as well as the other generals to defer undertaking any thing for ſo ſhort an interval, but to let him have time to receive his letters which he expected every moment.

It was eaſy to ſee into the duke's real motive, which did not remain long concealed. The biſhop of Briſtol, who remained the only plenipotentiary at Utrecht in the abſence of the earl of Strafford, had orders to declare to the allied miniſters, that the queen of England thought proper to agree with the king of France to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and that ſhe had already acquainted her parliament with her reſolution. From that time the biſhop of Briſtol no longer behaved with that reſerve to the plenipotentiaries of France, which he had ſhewn towards them ſince they firſt met at Utrecht. He apprized them of his orders, and of what he propoſed to mention the ſame day to the allied miniſters. He aſked them whether they had nothing particular to confide to him in regard to the article of the ceſſation, the queen of England having explained herſelf only in general terms in her ſpeech to the parliament.

The plenipotentiaries replied, that if he ſhould be aſked any queſtions concerning this article, he might affirm that her majeſty's ſpeech contained

tained the king's anſwer word for word; that the allies were to expect no other, and that his plenipotentiaries had no authority to make any addition to it.

SATISFIED with this anſwer, the biſhop of Briſtol promiſed, that as ſoon as the earl of Strafford returned they ſhould jointly ſet about the plan which had been agreed to by the queen of Great Britain. The next thing he did was to communicate the news to the allied miniſters. They made no anſwer, not knowing the opinion of their maſters concerning ſo ſudden an event; they were all afraid, tho' thro' different motives, either of making an unſeaſonable diſcovery of their ſentiments, or of engaging further than they ought, or even than their powers would permit.

THUS a good underſtanding being eſtabliſhed betwixt the king's plenipotentiaries and the biſhop of Briſtol, they informed him of his majeſty's having conſented that the Britiſh troops ſhould take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk. So great a proof of his confidence in the queen of Great Britain's word, was received by the Engliſh plenipotentiary as a ſure token of the ceſſation of arms, of which he expected to ſee the effect.

PRINCE Eugene had laid ſiege to Queſnoy the 8th of June; this ſiege did not laſt long, for the town ſurrendered after a weak defence, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war. This ſudden ſucceſs raiſed the courage of the enemy, who

who had been greatly caſt down, eſpecially in Holland, by the duke of Ormond's having again refuſed to ſend any aſſiſtance to prince Eugene for the ſiege of Landrecy, which he propoſed to undertake.

They had made no queſtion but that all the troops in Britiſh pay would follow the Engliſh: they dreaded next that marſhal Villars would embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking prince Eugene; and whatever enterprize he ſhould go upon after the taking of Queſnoy, the ſtate ſeemed to be in the utmoſt danger. In this critical juncture the Dutch plenipotentiaries reproached the biſhop of Briſtol, with the odious conduct of the Engliſh miniſtry. They already imagined themſelves to be expoſed defenceleſs to the enemy. They exaggerated the unhappineſs of their ſituation; and no leſs enraged than dejected, they pretended to throw out menaces, not only of what would be ſaid and thought to the queen of England's diſhonour, but perhaps of what ſteps they ſhould take to be revenged of her majeſty, ſhould there happen to be an engagement, which could not prove otherwiſe than fatal to the allies. In this manner thoſe enemies of peace, who a few days before had employed every poſſible means to croſs it; who had rejected a ceſſation of arms, perſuaded that it would ſnatch the victory out of their hands, and deprive them of the advantage which they promiſed themſelves, of penetrating directly into the heart

of France; thoſe very politicians who had imagined their armies already at the gates of Paris, were now in the utmoſt conſternation for their own country, becauſe the queen of England, tired of a burdenſome war, had declared her intentions to conclude a peace; and in conſequence thereof a few Britiſh troops had ſeparated from the grand army of the allies.

BUT the public were ſoon informed in Holland that the general officers of the troops of Hanover, Brandenburg, and other foreigners in Britiſh pay, except one battalion and four ſquadrons of the duke of Holſtein, and two ſquadrons of Walef's regiment of dragoons of the country of Liege, refuſed to follow the duke of Ormond, without expreſs orders from their maſters.

THIS diſunion among the forces under the command of the duke of Ormond, removed the terror occaſioned in Holland at the firſt news of ſo conſiderable a diminution of the allied army; but the ſame cauſe of conſolation to the king's enemies afforded his majeſty a juſt ſubject of complaint, and reaſon to think himſelf diſengaged from his promiſe of letting the Engliſh take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk. He knew, from the muſter-roll ſigned by viſcount Bolingbroke, that the queen of England's troops conſiſted of ſixty-five battalions, and ninety-four ſquadrons. It would not have been fulfilling on the part of that princeſs, the principal condition of the ceſſation, to reduce this conſider-

able body of troops, to thoſe which were left under the command of the duke of Ormond.

It had been moreover agreed that the ceſſation ſhould be general betwixt the armies then in the Netherlands, whereas now it turned out a particular armiſtice between the French and the Engliſh troops only.

Yet the king would not have inſiſted on this new ſubject of complaint, but would have been ſatisfied with a particular ceſſation of hoſtilities between France and England, if all the troops in Britiſh pay had kept united, and all made the ſame motion together; but their ſudden ſeparation had ſo greatly altered the advantage, which his majeſty and the queen of Great Britain had propoſed to themſelves from the ceſſation, that the king thought proper to ſuſpend his orders for admitting the Engliſh troops into Dunkirk. At the ſame time he ordered his miniſter to write to lord Bolingbroke, and to inſiſt on the queen's performing her word, as his majeſty on the other hand was ready to perform his with the utmoſt exactneſs.

Bolingbroke made anſwer that the queen his miſtreſs was ſenſibly concerned, that the enemies of peace ſhould ſtill find means to retard it; that her majeſty was reſolved for her part not to be diſcouraged by any obſtacles, but on the contrary to concur with the king's endeavours to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity; that ſhe did not in the leaſt doubt but thus united, they

they ſhould defeat this laſt effort of thoſe, who wanted to promote their own intereſts, or to ſatisfy their private reſentments, by protracting the calamities of war.

IN the next place he obſerved, that he had been juſt ſpeaking, by her majeſty's orders, to the miniſters from thoſe princes whoſe troops were in Britiſh pay; that he had told them ſhe would look upon the conduct of their commanding officers, as the declaration of their maſters, either for or againſt her; and that if they perſiſted to ſeparate themſelves from the Engliſh army, ſhe would withhold their pay; that it was time to reſolve; that the expreſs whom ſhe was going to diſpatch to the army, ſhould carry their letters to the reſpective generals; and that the duke of Ormond ſhould receive orders by this very courier, not only to make, but to execute the ſame declarations.

PURSUANT to Bolingbroke's letter, the poſitive order given to the duke of Ormond, in caſe the foreign mercenaries perſiſted in the reſolution to deſert him, was to ſeparate from the allied army with the Britiſh troops, and thoſe which ſhould be willing to join them, and to declare that the queen would no longer act, nor pay thoſe that would act, againſt France; that after the great regard ſhe had ſhewn to the allies, their behaviour to her in return would juſtify her before God and man, ſo that ſhe was at liberty to continue the negotiation either at Utrecht, or

elſewhere, without giving herſelf any trouble about the concurrence or refuſal of her allies.

BOLINGBROKE therefore promiſed in the name of the queen of Great Britain, that if the king would deliver into the hands of her majeſty the town, citadel, and outworks of Dunkirk, without being diverted from his purpoſe by the ſeparation of the foreign mercenaries, in that caſe ſhe would make no difficulty to conclude a ſeparate peace, leaving a ſufficient time to the other powers for acquieſcing to the plan, which his majeſty and ſhe ſhould agree to. "You ſee, concluded Bolingbroke, that "the peace is in "the king's hands. If the duke of Ormond's "whole army conſent to the ſuſpenſion of arms, "our firſt project will have its effect. If they "will not conſent, the Britiſh troops ſhall ſe"parate from the allies, and the mercenaries "may apply to the States General for their "ſubſiſtence, who, far from being able to bear "this additional expence, are not in a condi"tion to continue that with which they are al"ready incumbered. In a word, Great Britain "will retire from the ſeat of war, and leave be"hind her thoſe powers only, which are too "weak to make head againſt France; ſo that "the peace may be concluded betwixt the two "crowns in a few weeks. Theſe, Sir, are the "propoſals which the queen commands me to "make you, and ſhe believes that his moſt "chriſtian majeſty will find his account herein,

"as

"as well as in the firſt plan. If the king "ſhould accept of theſe propoſals, the queen "is of opinion that it will be for the advantage "of both nations, immediately to ſet about a "general ſuſpenſion of arms by ſea and land, "between Great Britain and France, after that "which is to be proclaimed in the Nether-"lands."

AT the end of his letter lord Bolingbroke expreſſed great impatience for the king's anſwer, and acknowledged, "that each moment was "precious. He added, you will diſpatch at the "ſame time, if you pleaſe, a courier to the duke "of Ormond, that he may know how he is to "act. If you inform him that the king has "given orders to the commanding officer at "Dunkirk, to admit the queen's troops into "the town, that nobleman will immediately do "what I have here mentioned, and her majeſty "will ſend ſome regiments from hence to take "poſſeſſion of it. By this means we ſhall a-"void ſeveral difficulties, which might ariſe, if "it was to be done by a detachment from the "duke of Ormond's army, as was at firſt de-"ſigned."

BOLINGBROKE gave notice that after he had wrote his letter, the queen had taken the reſolution of ſending lord Strafford to the army, and that he ſhould ſet out the evening of the next day the 24th of June, or the day following.

His majeſty's chief aim in treating directly with England, was to reſtore by this means the general peace of Europe. Now this muſt certainly be obtained, whenever the queen of Great Britain ſeparated herſelf from thoſe powers, whoſe animoſity excited them to continue the war againſt France. Her majeſty promiſed this ſeparation; therefore whether ſhe withdrew a greater or a ſmaller number of troops from the allied army, this ought not to hinder the ſeparate peace, which neceſſarily tended to a general treaty. The king in conſequence gave orders to his miniſter to anſwer lord Bolingbroke, and recapitulating all the eſſential points of his letter, to let him know, that the reaſons which he had clearly ſtated, had determined his majeſty to admit the Britiſh troops into Dunkirk; that an expreſs was ſet out with this order to marſhal Villars; and that the duke of Ormond ſhould receive advice thereof the day after this letter, which was dated the 5th of July.

The king in the ſame manner agreed to the propoſal of declaring, immediately after that ſtep, a ſuſpenſion of all hoſtilities by ſea and land betwixt France and England, perſuaded that thoſe nations which ſo long had bore the weight and calamities of war, could not be too ſoon reſtored to the enjoyment of peace.

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WHILE every thing was preparing on the part of England for this happy event, to which the ceſſation of arms was a prelude, the Dutch did all in their power to traverſe both. The ſeparation of the foreign mercenaries from the duke of Ormond's army, had revived the hopes of thoſe who delighted in war. They flattered themſelves with the notion of ſome change in England, which they looked upon as more probable, ſince the duke of Ormond had as yet made no motion, but on the contrary had ſuſpended the march of the detachments deſigned to replace the garriſon of Dunkirk. They hoped that the queen of England, unable to fulfil her promiſes to France, would at length leave the allies at full leiſure and at liberty, to defeat a project no leſs odious than fatal to the grand alliance.

THE virulent writings of the Engliſh whigs contributed to increaſe the animoſity of people of the ſame ſtamp in Holland. The letters from London gave them hopes of a new parliament that would favour the common cauſe, and conſequently of a total and certain change of the meaſures hitherto purſued by the preſent adminiſtration.

COUNT Zintzendorff improved on theſe idle ideas, and beſides confirming the promiſes of the whigs, he added, that even if they ſhould not be able as yet for ſome time to perform

their word, ſtill the united forces of the emperor, the empire, and Holland, would be ſufficient to maintain a defenſive war till the critical moment, which he looked upon as certain, when a revolution ſhould break out in favour of the duke of Hanover, and make ſuch an alteration in the ſyſtem of the Engliſh government, that hoſtilities would be renewed with greater vigour than ever againſt France. The ceſſation deſired and propoſed by the queen of England, was by prince Eugene ſtiled high treaſon: and the Dutch commonly diſtinguiſhed it by the ſame name. The deputies of the provinces and of the towns, who were aſſembled at the Hague, had frequent conferences, but without coming to any concluſion; their animoſity increaſed in proportion to their incapacity of indulging it.

THE duke of Ormond had deferred to march the troops under his command, pretending that he waited for the new inſtructions which the earl of Strafford was to bring with him from England. The queen's orders to Strafford, for proceeding directly to the army, were changed as he was ſetting out from London; and in purſuance of freſh inſtructions he repaired to the Hague, to repreſent to the States General the dangerous conſequences to which their country might be expoſed, from refuſing to agree to a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

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SENSIBLE of the importance of this commiſſion, he had executed it with great exactneſs. His reaſons, which he enforced with great freedom, were founded on ſuch evident truth, that it was difficult to anſwer them; and indeed ſuch effect had they on the men who governed that commonwealth, that they ſhewed themſelves more tractable and more complaiſant to him than they had ever appeared ſince the beginning of the negotiation; and as he was juſt ready to ſet out for the duke of Ormond's army, they begged he would put off his departure only four and twenty hours. During this interval they ſent a courier to their deputies at the army, to deſire prince Eugene to ſuſpend all military operations at leaſt for ſix days.

THESE ſteps, in appearance tending to peace, were a conſequence of the weakneſs of the ſtate, not of the inclination of the governors, who were ſtill as averſe as ever from concurring to the repoſe of Europe, or from relinquiſhing thoſe preliminaries which to their great concern there was no longer any probability of obtaining.

THE biſhop of Briſtol paid a viſit to lord Strafford at the Hague, who informed him of the inſtructions he had received at his ſetting out from London, and in what manner he had executed them. The States had aſſured him that they would immediately give him a definitive anſwer; they had alſo made an

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apology for the delay, becauſe of the neceſſity of waiting for the reſolution of the provinces; a ſtale pretence, which that Republic makes uſe of, when ſhe thinks it her intereſt to gain time, tho' ſhe knows how to break through it, whenever ſhe pleaſes to conclude ſuch treaties as ſhe believes to her advantage.

THUS the penſionary Heinſius boaſted in 1709, that the treaty, called The Grand Alliance, had been concluded and ſigned in four and twenty hours, a term too ſhort for conſulting and obtaining the conſent of the reſpective towns and provinces.

THE Engliſh plenipotentiary, at his return to Utrecht, informed the French miniſters of what he had heard from the earl of Strafford. They, on the other hand, ſhewed him copies of lord Bolingbroke's letter, in regard to the foreign mercenaries, and to the admittance of the Engliſh troops into Dunkirk; with the anſwer which his majeſty made to every point contained in that letter. The biſhop of Briſtol, extremely well ſatisfied with both, acknowledged that the king's method of accelerating the private negotiation betwixt France and England, was the ſureſt way to overcome at length the enemy's averſion to peace.

THE peace ſo long expected was drawing near. The Engliſh troops were admitted into Dunkirk, the 19th of July; an event which occaſioned a freſh alarm to the Dutch. They were afraid leſt

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the king ſhould reſolve to yield Dunkirk with its fortifications to England, if they obſtinately perſiſted in rejecting either a ceſſation of arms, or a peace; and yet they could not be prevailed upon to conſent to either.

THE biſhop of Briſtol made another tour to the Hague, as ineffectual as the precedent. He returned to Utrecht without any anſwer, convinced more than ever by this new experiment, that the intention of the States-General was only to temporize till the end of the campaign. And indeed the penſionary of Holland left no ſtone unturn'd to hinder the peace. He endeavoured to perſuade thoſe who deſired it, that the conduct he obſerved was the ſureſt way to obtain advantageous conditions. Thoſe of the oppoſite party he excited, by aſſuring them, that he ſhould find ſecret reſources for continuing the war without the aſſiſtance of England. The advocates of war uſed their utmoſt endeavours, to divert the provinces from agreeing to a ceſſation. They made them believe, that ſuch a propoſal was only an artifice to ſtop the progreſs of their arms; that the Engliſh concealed the principal points relating to the extent and ſecurity of their barrier, tho' ſo neceſſary to the ſtate, and ſo ardently deſired; that the ſame ſecrecy was obſerved in regard to the article of commerce. They concluded, that it was therefore better to wage war eternally, than to finiſh it by the order or mediation of the Engliſh. If after ſuch a ſe-

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ries of ſucceſſes they were to receive the law, better it ſhould be from the king than from ſuch allies; it is not impoſſible with great œconomy to repair the breach, which the defection of the Engliſh has made in the grand alliance; but it is cruel that France, after having been worſted in the field now theſe twelve years, ſhould triumph in the cabinet, and by negotiating obtain the prize and the honour of a war, which on our part we have maintained with ſuch glory, ſuch expence, and ſuch effuſion of blood.

THESE ſpeeches received ſome weight from the taking of Queſnoy, followed by the ſiege of Landrecy, and from the hopes they ſtill entertained of forcing their way immediately into the heart of France. In vain did the Engliſh plenipotentiaries preſs the Republic to give a definitive anſwer according to promiſe. She ſtill found means to elude their demands.

THE melancholy reflections, to which the people had abandoned themſelves in France, contributed to promote the penſionary's deſign. Their impatience for peace increaſed every day; they expreſſed themſelves concerning it in a ſcandalous manner; they charged the king with want of ſolicitude to conclude it, and found fault with this pretended neglect. People of all ranks would have had him bend to the Dutch and their allies. In proportion as the negotiation advanced, the apprehenſion of miſſing the critical minute increaſed, and made a deeper impreſſion even

even on thoſe who were particularly informed of its preſent ſtate.

THE firſt of the king's three plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, notwithſtanding his experience, was prejudiced in favour of the ſincerity of the Dutch, and more ſo of the confidence they repoſed in his candour; ſo that he could by no means conſider them as the greateſt enemies to peace and to France. He had a notion that the republic was too much neglected. He even made uſe of a private channel to convey theſe timid reflections to the king; adding, that the pernicious counſel of treating by the way of England, ought to be attributed to the private reſentment of the miniſter employed in 1709, at the conferences of peace, as well as to the ſecret deſire of revenge, which probably he ſtill retained, for having reaped no other fruit from his journey than thoſe famous preliminaries, which the king was now in a condition to reject. Thus, without reflecting that the abolition of thoſe iniquitous conditions was owing to the happy ſucceſs of the negotiation begun with England, this ſame plenipotentiary wrote to his friends at court, that the miniſtry had taken a very bad road, and that a peace would never be obtained by means of the Engliſh. Very likely he was offended with what he had heard them ſay, that the peace would not be negotiated at Utrecht betwixt the plenipotentiaries of France and Great-Britain, but at Verſailles and at London, by the correſpondence eſtabliſhed between

between the miniſters of both crowns. Theſe indirect repreſentations, varniſhed over with the pretence of zeal for the king's ſervice, were not able to divert his majeſty from the method he had taken, the utility of which appeared clearer every day. As it was proper to bring the firſt plenipotentiary into the ſame way of thinking, he ſent orders in his letter directed to them all three, to avoid, henceforwards, all marks of impatience for peace, ſuch ſteps being more likely to retard, than to promote its ſpeedy concluſion; he enjoined them, eſpecially in regard to the Dutch, to wait till that Republic made the firſt ſtep herſelf towards an accommodation.

In that caſe the king did not intend to reject the advances ſhe might make; but it was no longer for his intereſt to court a nation, whoſe inſolence had increaſed, in proportion to the advantageous propoſals of his majeſty.

The ſeparation of England from the reſt of the allies, was not an event of ſuch indifference to the Dutch, as they pretended, and would fain make the public believe. The Britiſh troops having entered Dunkirk, and the ceſſation of hoſtilities between the French and Engliſh troops in the Netherlands, having been publiſhed at the head of both armies, the king ordered his miniſter to write to Bolingbroke, that his majeſty, having punctually fulfilled his engagements, expected that the queen of England would likewiſe perform the promiſe, which Bolingbroke had made

made in that princeſs's name; and that nothing ſhould retard the concluſion of a ſeparate peace betwixt France and England; that every obſtacle was removed, ſince the articles of the treaty with England were all ſettled: that in regard to the general peace, the king had in confidence acquainted the queen of England with his intentions, and her majeſty had approved them.

AT the ſame time it was propoſed to Bolingbroke, to agree to a ſuſpenſion of all hoſtilities by ſea; ſo that while it laſted, it ſhould not be permitted to tranſport troops, ammunition, or proviſions of any kind whatſoever, either to Portugal, Catalonia, or to any other place that was ſtill the ſeat of war.

THESE propoſals were the effect of a real ceſſation of arms; they were juſt, and as ſuch accepted. On this occaſion, Bolingbroke, in the name of the queen his miſtreſs, made a demand, that had never been mentioned during the whole negotiation. He ſaid, of all the allies whoſe intereſts and juſt pretenſions the queen might have at heart, there was not one whom ſhe ſo greatly deſired to favour as the duke of Savoy; that this would be the right way to draw him into engagements already concerted, and to make him ſenſible, that he need not fear the inſults of the Imperialiſts, ſo long as France and England took him under their protection. Bolingbroke added, "and this is a point ſhe cannot give up."

AFTER the death of queen Anne, and under the reign of the duke of Hanover, it was given out by the enemies of that princeſs, and particularly of lord Bolingbroke, that the demand of the kingdom of Sicily, in favour of the duke of Savoy, had been made without his knowledge; that he ſeemed to be very much concerned, when the earl of Peterborough gave him the firſt news of it; that he immediately anſwered, he was not ſo greedy after the empty title of a king, to ſacrifice real intereſts to the unſeaſonable ambition of acquiring this new dignity; but that nothing appeared more extraordinary to him, than to leave a prince, who had been foiled by his enemies, in poſſeſſion of the prize ſo long diſputed, a prize which the Britiſh parliament had ſo often acknowledged, and declared to be the juſt and principal cauſe of the war.

THIS ſudden demand in favour of the duke of Savoy, gave riſe to new difficulties which retarded the negotiation of peace. Such prejudice in favour of this prince, was ſo much the more diſagreeable to his majeſty, as he had always intended that the king of Spain ſhould yield the kingdom of Sicily to the elector of Bavaria, in order to indemnify him for the loſſes occaſioned by his fidelity to his engagements, and for thoſe which perhaps he ſhould ſtill ſuffer by the treaty of peace, the conditions of which were as yet uncertain. It is beyond all doubt, that, during the whole courſe of the negotiation, the king had never diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed his own intereſts from thoſe of the elector of Bavaria; they had been equally dear to him; and his majeſty, attentive to the intire reſtoration of that prince and his brother the elector of Cologne, had often given poſitive orders to his plenipotentiaries, to conſider the intereſts of the houſe of Bavaria, as one of the principal points of their negotiation.

THE Dutch continued to raiſe every difficulty in their power, that might prevent its ſucceſs. The anſwer which they had ſo long ſince promiſed to the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, did not yet appear. To determine them to explain themſelves, there was a neceſſity for ſome deciſive event. Such an event ſoon happened; when the enemies of peace at length experienced, that the ſeparation of England was not a matter of indifference to the proſperity of that formidable alliance.

THE earl of Albemarle had under his command at Denain, a body of troops detached from prince Eugene's army; his camp was ſtrongly intrenched; and he occupied this poſt chiefly with a view of ſecuring the proviſions neceſſary for the army during the ſiege of Landrecy, which were laid up in the magazines at Marchiennes. The marſhals de Villars and de Monteſquion attacked him the 24th of July, forced his intrenchments, routed the troops that defended them, and made themſelves maſters of Marchiennes and the magazines. Lord Albe-

marle was taken priſoner, and ſeveral general officers belonging to the enemy were ſlain. This important event the French attributed to the bravery of their nation, as well as to the good diſpoſition which the two marſhals had made for the attack. Both parties of the Engliſh, but for oppoſite reaſons, ſaid that the defeat of the allies was owing to the ſeparation of the Britiſh troops. On both ſides it was judged that the ſure conſequence of this action would be peace; thoſe who dreaded it, were ſtill more clamorous againſt the negotiation, which they pretended to have been the cauſe of ſo great a change. All ſides were alike miſtaken. It would be wrong to attribute ſucceſſes which do not depend upon human means, to valour or politics. The God of armies, in whoſe hands is victory, gives it as he thinks fit; he raiſes the humble and pulls down the proud; he ſupports and protects thoſe who place their truſt in him; while he puniſhes the pride of nations who rely on their own ſtrength, and imagine that nothing is able to withſtand them.

It was for the emperor's intereſt, to keep up the high opinion which the advocates of war in Holland, had of the power of their own government, and of that of the allies; for which reaſon prince Eugene took care to have it ſpread, that the miſcarriage at Denain would not diſconcert his projects, but that he ſhould go on with the ſiege of Landrecy, and

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after taking that town he ſhould penetrate into France, ravage Picardy and Champagne, give battle, defeat the French, and march victorious to the gates of Paris.

THESE rodomantade's little ſuited the reputation of a general, whoſe real merit was out of all queſtion. Yet Zintzendorff and the penſionary made it their buſineſs to ſpread them, in hopes of reviving the ſpirits of ſuch as had been diſheartened by the defeat at Denain. Hence their emiſſaries in the city of Amſterdam endeavoured to perſuade people, that this unfortunate accident would be ſoon and eaſily repaired, that they muſt unite cloſer than ever, ſhew freſh reſolution, and not give any room for France to believe, that an unlucky hit ſhould be capable to frighten and diſunite allies, whoſe arms during the continuance of a long war had been always crowned with victory.

THE king had judged, even before the action at Denain, that all advice to the Dutch of diſcontinuing the war would be but ill received, unleſs the Engliſh, after ſeparating from the allied army, ſeized upon Gaunt or Bruges. His majeſty gave notice of this to the duke of Ormond; and the earl of Strafford had already given him the ſame advice. Accordingly he made ſure of Bruges, took poſſeſſion of the citadel of Gaunt and the town gates, and put himſelf in a poſture of not being afraid of any

ſurprize from a Dutch battalion, and another of Walloons in the ſame town.

So many diſappointments, on the part of the allies, diminiſhed the great hopes with which prince Eugene and the penſionary had buoyed them up. The raiſing of the ſiege of Landrecy intirely deſtroyed the credit that had been given to their promiſes.

YET the happy and wiſhed-for moment was not yet come; the peace ſtill met with new delays from the peremptory manner in which the queen of England inſiſted upon the ceſſion of the kingdom of Sicily in favour of the duke of Savoy. Lord Bolingbroke's laſt letter concluded with a kind of menace, more likely to create a quarrel, than to facilitate the concluding of the negotiation. Yet the king did not chooſe to ſhew in the anſwer to Bolingbroke, that his majeſty was offended with the queen of Great Britain's miniſter, for declaring that the general ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities by ſea and land ſhould not take place, unleſs the king conſented to the queen's demand. The anſwer his majeſty ordered to be given to Bolingbroke was, that hitherto he had granted every condition which the queen had demanded; that tho' her majeſty had expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of peace, yet ſhe had given no proof as yet of her endeavours to forward the concluding

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of it; that the Engliſh were actually in poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, while the foreign troops in Britiſh pay had followed prince Eugene; that after the king had been ſo complaiſant and ſo ſcrupulous in keeping his word, the queen had not fulfilled her engagement, to procure a general ceſſation between the armies in Flanders; that ſhe gave room to think and to ſay, that notwithſtanding the ingratitude of her allies, her thoughts were intirely employed about procuring advantageous conditions for them. The king being alſo deſirous of an indemnification for the elector of Bavaria, offered to conſent to the queen of England's demand in favour of the duke of Savoy, if her majeſty would uſe her endeavours that the elector of Bavaria ſhould be maintained in the ſovereignty of the Netherlands, which had been ceded to him by the king of Spain.

THE court of Verſailles waited for lord Bolingbroke's anſwer. This nobleman wrote word that he ſhould bring it himſelf, the queen his miſtreſs having commanded him to go over to France; that he ſhould therefore ſet out directly, and take Prior and the abbé Gaultier along with him. The king ſuſpended his deciſion in regard to the project of a ſeparate peace with England, till the arrival of that miniſter.

THE ſecret inſtructions at that time given to lord Bolingbroke, became public two years afterwards, when the duke of Hanover ſucceed-

ing queen Anne, by virtue of the act of ſettlement, aſcended the throne of Great Britain. This prince, being perſuaded that the heads of the miniſtry in the precedent reign had acted contrary to his intereſts in conducting the negotiations of peace, and that they had been actuated by other views ſtill more to his prejudice and favourable to king James, appointed a ſecret committee to inquire ſtrictly into the conduct of the earl of Oxford and lord viſcount Bolingbroke. Mr. Walpole was nominated to examine into both their papers, eſpecially thoſe of the ſecretary's office, lord Bolingbroke's department.

THIS inquiſitor had not forgot that his avowed oppoſition to peace, and his intrigues to excite the commons againſt it, had been the cauſe of his impriſonment in the Tower under the laſt adminiſtration. He found an opportunity of being revenged, while he gratified at the ſame time his new maſter, and acquired the confidence of an indolent prince, who was a perfect ſtranger to the affairs of his kingdom. He took advantage of this favourable conjuncture, to inſert into his report, which was afterwards printed, all the virulence that his paſſion and vindictive ſpirit could ſuggeſt; he inſinuated himſelf further into king George's good graces in ſuch a manner, that he not only preſerved that prince's favour during his whole reign, but what may be reckoned a very extraordinary inſtance in any country, and perhaps the only one in England, he

he enjoyed the ſame credit and authority under his ſon, tho' theſe princes had been always of contrary ſentiments, the ſon having an averſion to thoſe who were in credit with his father.

THE inſtructions given to Bolingbroke, were publiſhed in Walpole's report.

THE firſt point was to declare to his majeſty the diſpleaſure which the queen of Great Britain conceived at the difficulties and delays of a negotiation, which ſhe thought juſt ready to be concluded.

HE was to mention, that her majeſty with whoſe ſentiments he was thoroughly acquainted, had thought proper to impower him to treat, and to regulate the conditions capable of removing the ſeveral difficulties which obſtructed the ſuſpenſion of arms.

THE queen ordered him to give poſitive aſſurances of her ſincere deſire to reſtore a perfect harmony betwixt the two nations. He was to uſe almoſt the ſame language to the king's miniſters, and aſſuring them of his power to conclude a ceſſation of arms betwixt France and England by ſea and land, he was permitted to fix it to two, three or four months, and even to extend it to the concluſion of the peace: but this power was annexed to the rigorous condition of obtaining the kingdom of Sicily in favour of the duke of Savoy; and moreover the queen of England pretended, that they ſhould regulate, as near as poſſible, the form of the

mutual renunciations of the ſucceſſion to the crowns of France and Spain.

She had before inſiſted on extending the pretended barrier of the duke of Savoy; for at that time every prince whatever in the alliance againſt France, thought he had a right to pretend to ſome diſmemberment thereof, under the pretence of ſecuring his frontiers againſt the enterprizes of this crown. The queen of Great Britain, without inſiſting upon that pretended barrier, only ordered Bolingbroke to conſent to nothing that might prejudice the liberty, which ſhe was willing the duke of Savoy ſhould have, of procuring what advantages he might pleaſe for himſelf.

Her majeſty expreſſed a particular attention to the intereſts of that prince; and as the principal point, in regard to him, was the right of ſucceeding to the crown of Spain, in failure of king Philip and his deſcendants, ſhe commanded her miniſter to have this article explained very clearly, and drawn up as near as poſſible, in the ſame terms as in the memorial preſented by count Maffei.

The act of the ceſſion of Sicily, as alſo thoſe of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain in favour of the duke of Savoy, were to be drawn up, according to the inſtruction, at the ſame time, with thoſe of the mutual renunciations of the catholic king and the princes of France to the ſucceſſion of both crowns.

IT was the queen of England's intention, that the kingdom of Sicily ſhould be immediately yielded to the duke of Savoy, without waiting for the concluſion of the general peace. She conſented however, that his taking poſſeſſion ſhould be deferred, till the peace between England, France and Spain was concluded.

SHE likewiſe approved that her miniſter ſhould conſent, if neceſſary, to a ſecret article, for preventing any deſign which the duke of Savoy might form, of exchanging Sicily for ſome other territory contiguous to his own, which would neither be agreeable to the queen's intentions, nor to the intereſts of her kingdoms.

IN regard to the renunciations, Bolingbroke was to ſettle them ſo as they ſhould admit of no delays or diſputes, whenever the perſons appointed as witneſſes by the queen, ſhould arrive in France and Spain.

As the king was extremely deſirous of obtaining advantageous conditions for the elector of Bavaria, the queen declared that ſhe ſhould willingly conſent to the reſtoration of that prince to his German dominions, except to the Upper Palatinate and the rank of firſt elector, which the elector Palatine ſhould keep. But as the elector of Bavaria was in poſſeſſion of Namur, Luxemburg, Charleroy, and Newport, he might make uſe of them, to obtain ſomething more in exchange at the treaty of general peace. She approved that the kingdom of Sardinia ſhould be granted

granted to that prince, as an equivalent for thoſe four towns.

Bolingbroke above all things was to avoid any new engagements, and therefore he had orders to declare that the queen his miſtreſs, was willing to enter into a common guaranty for ſecuring the tranquillity of Europe, as it ſhould be ſettled by the general peace; but that ſhe would not agree to any article capable of engaging her in a new war, eſpecially againſt her old allies; ſince it was ſufficient for France, that the conduct of thoſe allies had convinced her majeſty, of the reaſonableneſs, juſtice, and even neceſſity of terminating, for her part, the preſent war.

As ſoon as theſe points were ſettled, Bolingbroke was to treat of the particular intereſts of Great Britain, and endeavour to explain as advantageouſly as poſſible the articles that might appear to be doubtful.

He was alſo to try all he could to diſcover the ultimate intentions of France, concerning the different branches of the plan of general peace. The queen judged that when the treaty between France and England was once concluded, it would be proper to fix a term for the allies to ſettle their particular treaties. She promiſed to employ her good offices for reconciling the differences which obſtructed the general peace; but ſhe did not pretend to oblige them to accept of the plan offered by France, nor to de-

deprive them of the liberty of uſing their own endeavours to obtain better conditions.

As ſoon as the ceſſation of arms could be agreed to, Bolingbroke was to ſend his orders to the admiral of the Engliſh fleet in the Mediterranean, to the general of the Britiſh troops in Catalonia, and to the Engliſh envoy at Genoa. He was alſo to ſettle, in concert with the king's miniſters, the means of withdrawing the Imperial and Portugueze troops out of Catalonia with ſafety, whenever the Emperor and the king of Portugal ſhould think proper.

THE queen of Great-Britain's reſolution in ſending one of her chief miniſters to France, muſt convince her allies, that ſhe was determined to conclude a ſeparate accommodation, if they continued to refuſe concurring with her in the general peace. They even ſuſpected that the private treaty was already ſigned, when the ſudden news of Bolingbroke's intended journey came to Holland.

HAD this miniſter's advice been taken, a treaty of this kind would have preceded, or even have prevented this commiſſion. He had counſelled the queen to prefer a ſeparate peace to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and to ſecure to her ſubjects, as ſoon as poſſible, the enjoyment of thoſe advantages which the king conſented to grant them. This was the way to obviate all thoſe difficulties, which the enemies of peace oppoſed to a ſimple ceſſation of arms. The example of Great-Britain would

would have been ſoon followed; for it was pretty certain that the kings of Portugal and Pruſſia, the duke of Savoy and the Dutch, would not be ſo imprudent as to continue the war after the ſeparation of ſuch an ally as Great-Britain; and that the reſt of the confederates, deſtitute of ways and means, would not be long able to maintain it.

BOLINGBROKE's advice was oppoſed by the lord-treaſurer, cautious of offending the duke of Hanover, and apprehenſive of being called to an account, whenever that prince aſcended the Britiſh throne. It was therefore reſolved to abide by the project of a ceſſation. This occaſioned a great deal of uneaſineſs, which might have been avoided by a definitive peace betwixt France and England. The queen, whoſe health was daily declining, would have had leiſure to provide, before her death, for the tranquillity of her kingdom, as well as for the ſecurity of her miniſters, who had ſerved her faithfully.

THE Dutch at length were become ſenſible, that they ſhould not be able to maintain the war, if England deſerted the grand alliance. The defeat at Denain, the raiſing of the ſiege of Landrecy, and the diſappointment of prince Eugene's projects, had blaſted all thoſe hopes with which he had fed their obſtinate averſion to peace. Their eyes were opened; and their miniſters ſtooped to meaſures extremely different from that inſolence and pride, with which the ſucceſs

ceſs of the allied arms had heretofore inſpired the Republic. Their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht waited upon thoſe of Great-Britain, begging they would employ their good offices for renewing the conferences with the French miniſters, which had been long interrupted. The cauſe of this interruption was the obſtinacy of the Dutch deputies, in refuſing to receive any anſwers from the French plenipotentiaries, except in writing. The Dutch dropped this pretenſion; and the king's miniſters agreed to reſume the conferences, provided the queen of England's ſpeech to her parliament was admitted as a plan of the treaty, with ſuch reſtrictions as they had orders from his majeſty to communicate.

IN the firſt place, the king demanded the reſtitution of Liſle as an equivalent for the demolition of Dunkirk.

HE declared, that Tournay, Condé and Maubeuge, were the three towns, which he excepted out of thoſe that had been demanded by the Dutch in 1709, under the pretence of a barrier.

ANOTHER condition inſiſted upon by the king, was the reſtitution of all the ſtrong places taken from France, ſince the ſame year 1709.

THE intereſts of the elector of Bavaria were not forgot; but formed one of the principal articles of theſe reſtrictions.

THE allied miniſters, at that time at the Hague, hurried away to Utrecht, as ſoon as they heard, that the deputies of the States had taken ſo low a ſtep,

ſtep, as to have recourſe to the Engliſh plenipotentiaries for renewing the conferences. Count Zintzendorff repeated his exhortations and promiſes, to raiſe the dejected ſpirits of the Dutch. He aſſured them that prince Eugene was on his march to fight marſhal Villars, that he was ſure of victory, which in an inſtant would change the whole face of affairs; that it was the intereſt of the Republic to temporize; that ſhe could run no riſk in ſuſpending the conferences; that though the Dutch plenipotentiaries had ſolicited for their renewal, yet they might get off very well, by pretending that France ought to have made the demand.

ZINTZENDORFF ſucceeded. He prevailed on the deputies of the States to raiſe new difficulties againſt the opening of thoſe conferences, notwithſtanding it had been their own deſire.

THE negotiation was therefore delayed: an incident, which ſhall be recited at large hereafter, prolonged this delay, and left the miniſters at Utrecht in a ſtate of inaction.

IN the mean time lord Bolingbroke arrived at Paris, towards the end of the month of Auguſt. Torcy came from Fontainebleau, and found my lord at the marchioneſs of Croiſſy's, Torcy's mother, who had invited him to lodge at her houſe, during the time he ſtayed in France. The two miniſters loſt no time, but fell immediately to ſettling the chief points of the inſtruction, which Bolingbroke had received of the queen; and,

and, purſuant to the orders which the king had given to Torcy, they agreed;

THAT the duke of Savoy and his deſcendants ſhould be called to the Spaniſh monarchy, in default of king Philip and his deſcendants; that this ſubſtitution ſhould be inſerted in the king of Spain's renunciation, of his own right, and thoſe of his deſcendants, to the crown of France.

THAT the ſame ſubſtitution ſhould be likewiſe inſerted in the acts of renunciation ſigned by the dukes of Berry and Orleans, of their rights to the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy.

THAT the renunciation of his catholic majeſty ſhould be regiſtered in the parliaments of France; in the ſame act it ſhould be ſpecified, that this prince conſented and demanded, that the king ſhould give orders for withdrawing thoſe letters patent from the archives of the parliament of Paris, which his majeſty had iſſued out the month of December 1700, for preſerving the birthright of his grandſon, notwithſtanding his abſence, and his reſiding out of the kingdom, and that thoſe letters ſhould be made void.

ON the other hand, the renunciations of the dukes of Berry and Orleans were to be admitted by the *Cortes*, or States of Caſtile and Arragon, and theſe formalities complied with as ſoon as poſſible; ſo that the duke of Hamilton, whom the queen deſigned to ſend ambaſſador to France, ſhould ſpeedily give her majeſty an account of re-

regiſtering the renunciation of the king of Spain; and the lord Lexington, whom ſhe intended her ambaſſador to the court of Madrid, ſhould be alſo preſent, when the States of Spain accepted the renunciations of the dukes of Berry and Orleans.

With regard to the ceſſion of Sicily, the king had judged, that the way to favour the duke of Savoy, was not to expoſe him to the danger of loſing the very advantage, which the queen of England would have him enjoy. By too haſty a declaration, the people of that kingdom, who are naturally turbulent and inclined to rebellion, might be excited to favour the houſe of Auſtria.

It was therefore agreed, according to his majeſty's intentions, that as ſoon as a miniſter from England arrived at Madrid, the king of Spain ſhould ſign a ſecret article, containing a promiſe to yield up Sicily to the duke of Savoy, either by the general treaty of peace with all the belligerant powers, or by a particular treaty betwixt France, Spain, England and Savoy; that his catholic majeſty ſhould, by the ſame article, agree to leave the duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Sicily, after the exchange of the ratifications, with a clauſe that he ſhould never be ſuffered to commute or alienate that iſland, for any cauſe or pretext whatſoever.

It was not ſo eaſy to ſettle the article of the barrier, which was to be left to the duke of Savoy. Lord Bolingbroke declared, that her Britannic

tannic majeſty did not deſire that the duke's dominions ſhould be inlarged on the ſide of France, but only ſecured; that the king had promiſed a ſecurity for all the allies of England in general, therefore his majeſty had engaged to grant it to the duke of Savoy.

IN anſwer to this captious argument, it was ſaid, that the duke gave the name and pretext of ſecurity to what was a real enlargement of territory, and detrimental to France; that his majeſty carried his complaiſance very far, in conſenting, out of regard to the queen of England, to let the duke of Savoy have Exilles, Feneſtrelles, and the valley of Pragelas; and that this was the utmoſt he could grant.

THE refuſal was juſt, and Bolingbroke had been empowered to deſiſt from this laſt pretenſion. As he did not care to diſcover the extent of his powers, he pretended to look out for an expedient, in order to diſengage the queen his miſtreſs, as he ſaid, with honour from the preſſing inſtances of the duke of Savoy. At length he ſaid, that as ſhe could not take upon her to determine this article, in prejudice to her ally, it muſt be referred to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

THERE was a much warmer conteſt about the article of reſtoring and indemnifying the elector of Bavaria; becauſe this prince, having heard that lord Bolingbroke was expected in France, came himſelf to Paris, in order to manage his own intereſts. He was in hopes that the king-

dom of Sicily would be ceded to him, as an equivalent for the loſſes he had ſuſtained by the war. And indeed the king actually intended to obtain that crown for him. But it was a melancholy commiſſion to be obliged to tell the elector, that there would be no poſſibility of a peace, ſhould his majeſty reject the ſolicitations of the queen of England, or refuſe to conſent to the renunciation which the king of Spain was willing to make of that iſland in favour of the duke of Savoy. There was ſtill room to hope, that it would be eaſier to get the kingdom of Sardinia for the elector; but he had the good fortune afterwards, at the concluſion of the peace with the emperor and the empire, to obtain far better terms, ſince he was reſtored to all his eſtates and dignities, as well as his brother the elector of Cologne.

All theſe articles having been ſettled between the two ſecretaries of ſtate of France and England, they agreed that the treaty of ceſſation of arms by ſea and land, for the term of four months, betwixt France and England, ſhould be ſigned at Fontainebleau, after Bolingbroke had had an audience of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

They ſet out together from Paris to wait upon the king, who was already appriſed by a letter, which Torcy had the honour to write to him, that every thing was ſettled according to his orders. His majeſty was willing to expreſs the ſatisfaction he ſhould have, in acting henceforward

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in concert with the queen of England, and eſtabliſhing a proper harmony with that princeſs, which ſhould reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. In order therefore to treat her miniſter with diſtinction, he ordered an apartment to be prepared for him in that part of the palace of Fontainebleau, which is called the Conciergerie; and the next day his majeſty gave him a private audience in his cabinet. Lord Bolingbroke acquitted himſelf of the truſt, which the queen his miſtreſs had repoſed in him, with grace and dignity; and at the ſame time with proper reſpect to his majeſty. From that moment, he would have gained the king's eſteem, had he not already deſerved it by his conduct during the whole courſe of the negotiation.

THE king, who beſides his other rare qualities, could expreſs himſelf better than any prince upon earth, anſwered him in terms, no way ſtudied, but perſuaſive and elegant, and aſſured him of his eſteem and affection for the queen of Great-Britain. He declared his ſatisfaction at ſeeing ſo near a proſpect of concluding the peace, thro' her majeſty's care; as on his part he had done every thing in his power to promote it. He ſaid, he hoped that all endeavours to oppoſe it would prove ineffectual, and that God would not permit the enemies of the public repoſe to enjoy much longer, the liberty of giving laws contrary to the happineſs of ſo many nations. He aſſured

Bolingbroke, that he would exactly perform whatever he had promiſed; and that the proſperity of his arms ſhould make no change in the conditions to which he had agreed.

When the audience was over, the two ſecretaries of ſtate again read and examined the project they had drawn up for a ceſſation of arms.

A fair copy was taken of the treaty, and it was ſigned the ſame day. This act and thoſe of the renunciations have been publiſhed in ſo many different works and collections, that it would be needleſs to inſert them in theſe memoirs. The ceſſation of arms was for four months, the term expired towards the end of December, and then it was prolonged.

Lord Bolingbroke had the good fortune not only to pleaſe the king, but every body that came near his majeſty's perſon. He ſeemed to be no ſtranger to the court of France, nor they to him. They vied with each other to ſhew him honours, and tho' the king's example is generally the pattern of a ſtranger's reception, Bolingbroke owed the civilities he received as much to his own perſonal qualities, as to the ſentiments which his majeſty expreſſed in his favour. He ſet out a few days after, inſpired with freſh zeal and courage to bring matters to a happy concluſion. The great work had made ſuch a progreſs, that a few days afterwards cardinal Polignac wrote thus from Utrecht, "We are aſ-

"ſuming

" ſuming the figure which the Dutch made at " Gertrudenberg, and they are taking ours. " Count Zintzendorff is very ſenſible of his de- " cline."

TOWARDS the month of October, when the king's armies had retaken Doway, the Dutch redoubled their ſolicitations to renew the conferences of Utrecht, which had been interrupted by an accident that happened the precedent September, the particulars of which it is time to mention.

A FEW days after the battle of Denain, count de Rechteren, deputy of the province of Overyſſel, pretended that as he was paſſing by Menager's door in his coach, the footmen belonging to that plenipotentiary had inſulted his ſervants by *making grimaces and indecent geſtures*. He ſent his ſecretary to complain to their maſter, and to demand ſatisfaction for the offence, adding, that otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to take it himſelf.

MENAGER made anſwer in writing, that tho' it was only a quarrel between ſervants, yet he ſhould be very far from allowing his domeſtics to inſult thoſe of any other perſon, eſpecially count de Rechteren's; that he was ready to deliver up any of his ſervants whom the deputy had ſeen commit thoſe indecencies, or even whom his people could prove to have committed them.

RECHTEREN was gone to the Hague, when the anſwer was brought to his houſe, and in his abſence delivered to Moerman, one of his collegues.

AT his return, he ſent his ſecretary to demand ſatisfaction of Menager, for the offence of which he had made his complaint. Menager ſent him the ſame anſwer as before, and Rechteren acknowledged that he had not ſeen the grimaces nor the indecent geſtures with which he pretended to be offended; but it would be proper, he ſaid, for him to have liberty of ſending to Menager's houſe, in order to fix upon the offenders.

A FEW days after, Menager and Rechteren happened to be taking a walk in the mall at Utrecht, with the other plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces. After compliments on both ſides, Rechteren told the French plenipotentiary, that he ſtill expected ſatisfaction. Menager referred him to the anſwer which he had already given, adding, that his ſervants denied what the others laid to their charge.

RECHTEREN inſiſted on making a ſearch, in Menager's houſe; and on the latter's refuſing to grant him ſuch permiſſion, which would render the accuſers judges of the accuſed, Rechteren replied, "the maſter and the "ſervants will therefore do themſelves juſtice. "I repreſent a ſovereign as well as you, and "am

"am not a man that will put up with ſuch "inſults." After he had ſaid this, he ſpoke in Dutch to ſome of his domeſtics behind him.

A FEW moments after, Menager's ſervants came up, complaining that Rechteren's footmen had fallen upon them unawares, ſtruck them on the face, and threatened to ſtab them with their knives. Rechteren replied with a loud voice, "every time they behave thus, I will reward "them, and if they had not done ſo, I ſhould "turn them away."

HIS collegues endeavoured to excuſe this extravagant behaviour, and finding it could not be done, they denied that Rechteren had ſaid any ſuch thing, tho' ſeveral of the deputies of the Provinces had heard him. They were all deſirous that this unlucky affair ſhould be treated as a meer quarrel of ſervants, and begged the French plenipotentiaries would refer the affair to the arbitration of the Engliſh miniſters, without writing about it to the king, or complaining to the States General.

THE mediation of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries was not poſitively refuſed, but the French miniſters, without making any promiſe in regard to the main matter, perſiſted on demanding ſatisfaction, and rejected the excuſe which Rechteren's collegues alledged in his favour. They pretended in alleviation of the offence, that he

was drunk, at the time that he ſpoke and acted with ſuch violence and brutality.

It muſt be allowed that at any other conjuncture, a quarrel among ſervants would not have deſerved the ſerious attention of the plenipotentiaries, and much leſs of his majeſty, and that ſo much indulgence might have been ſhewn to Rechteren as to think he was drunk, ſince his collegues deſired it; but at that time it was neceſſary, not only to humble the pride of the Dutch, but likewiſe to ſuſpend the conferences of Utrecht, till every thing was perfectly ſettled with the queen of Great Britain. The king was therefore willing to condeſcend to Menager's repreſentations, and to believe that Rechteren only wanted a pretence to quarrel, in hopes it would engage his majeſty to break off the conferences. This is what the penſionary with his whole party, and the miniſters of the houſe of Auſtria would have been glad of. Of this number was Rechteren, from motives of gratitude and intereſt; the emperor had created him a count, and his brothers had lucrative employments in the army, which would ceaſe at the concluding of a peace. Hence he was continually diſſuading the Province he repreſented, from conſenting to any treaty; which Menager took care to make known to the king.

Without examining into the ſolidity of theſe reflexions, there was a neceſſity for retarding the

conferences, and this quarrel afforded a very plauſible pretence, till the king had obtained a proper ſatisfaction for the affront offered to one of his plenipotentiaries. His majeſty therefore ordered them all three, to tell the Engliſh miniſters, and them only, that he inſiſted the States General ſhould declare, whether Rechteren had followed their orders in approving of the violent behaviour of his domeſtics, and in talking after the manner he had done; or whether he had only followed the dictates of his paſſion, worked up by the miniſters of the houſe of Auſtria.

IF he had acted in obedience to his maſters, it was to be concluded, that the French plenipotentiaries could no longer expect to be in ſafety at Utrecht.

IF he had followed no other guide than his own paſſion and his private intereſt, the States General were called upon publicly to diſavow the behaviour of a miniſter that abuſed their confidence.

THE king preſcribed the terms of the diſavowal: the main article was to recall Rechteren, and to nominate another deputy in his place.

THE Dutch, grown now more tractable, conſented to the reſtitution of Liſle. The king's plenipotentiaries ſeemed to be very little affected with this forced conceſſion, but mortified the Republic by their ſilence. The reſolution of the States upon this article, gave room to believe,

lieve, that if the reſtitution of Tournay was ſtrongly inſiſted upon, it might be alſo obtained. The aſſiſtance of England was neceſſary; but her miniſters, far from being ready to lend a hand, ſeemed to oppoſe this meaſure as much as the States General. The ſubmiſſion of the Dutch had made a change in the diſpoſition of the Engliſh miniſtry towards the Republic. When lord Bolingbroke was in France, he ſaid, that if thoſe enemies of peace ſhould grow more reaſonable, and come to implore the protection of her Britannic majeſty, this change of behaviour would ſoften the reſentment which the Engliſh had conceived againſt their obſtinacy; that in ſuch a caſe, the queen would find it very difficult to get the conditions of the king's plan to be accepted; that the only way to obtain this point was to preſs the concluſion of a ſeparate peace, and to regiſter the renunciations as ſoon as poſſible, becauſe on them the peace depended; that immediately after the fulfilling of this eſſential article, the queen of Great Britain would declare to her allies, that ſhe could obtain no other plan than that propoſed by the king; that it was therefore their buſineſs to determine whether they would accept of it; that they ſhould have three months to conſider; but at the expiration of this term, the king ſhould no longer be obliged to grant thoſe conditions.

THE event verified what Bolingbroke had ſaid before his departure. As ſoon as it was known in London, that the earl of Strafford was come over with the news of the Dutch having conſented to the peace; this docility of the States made a change in her majeſty's council. The king ſtrongly inſiſted on the reſtitution of Tournay with its dependencies; the Dutch as ſtrongly oppoſed the demand, pretending that this town was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of their barrier. Tho' the queen had backed their repreſentations, ſtill there was room to hope, that, provoked at their oppoſing the peace, her majeſty would conſent to the king's juſt pretenſions; but ſhe could not withſtand the preſſing inſtances of her miniſters. They all in concert wrote to Prior, who that time tranſacted the affairs of England at Paris, that they expected from the king's generoſity, and from his deſire of reſtoring peace to Europe, that he would not retard the happineſs of ſo many nations, by inſiſting on the reſtitution of a town which the Dutch really ſtood in need of, to form their barrier in the Netherlands; that it would be in vain for the queen to endeavour to have it reſtored to France; that it would be alſo in vain for her majeſty to expoſe her authority; that ſhe would only draw upon herſelf the reproaches of the whole nation, inclined to favour the Dutch, and perſuaded that they would liſten to reaſon, and that their juſt demand could

be oppoſed only by corrupt miniſters who had ſold themſelves to France.

ACCORDINGLY the public imputed the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms the laſt campaign to them. It was the common talk, that their conduct had occaſioned the defeat at Denain, the loſs of Doway, Queſnoy, and Bouchain; that their eagerneſs to enter into engagements with France had encouraged this crown to inſiſt on conditions which ſhe never would have required, if England, conducting herſelf more honourably, had treated in concert with her allies. All the letters from England took notice, that the advocates of the Dutch were increaſing daily; that thoſe who had been moſt incenſed againſt them, while they oppoſed the peace, ſpoke now in their favour, ſince the treaty depended on a ſingle town neceſſary for the ſecurity of their barrier; that thoſe whoſe good intentions were no way ſuſpected, made loud complaints, that the king furniſhed his enemies with arms againſt the queen and her miniſters, by refuſing to acquieſce to the inſtances of her majeſty upon the article of Tournay; that the work of peace hitherto conducted with ſuch difficulty and pain, was in danger of being inſtantly overſet, tho' it was in the king's power to bring it to a happy concluſion.

THEIR laſt reaſon for concluding, was the queen's bad ſtate of health, which gave room to apprehend ſhe could not live long; and if this mis-

misfortune was to happen, the Engliſh miniſters muſt expect to fall a ſacrifice to the reſentment of their enemies; and beſides, all negotiations of peace would be abſolutely broke off.

BUT a much ſtronger reaſon, which the king perhaps kept to himſelf, tho' it gave exceſſive pain to his miniſters, who did not think proper to mention it, was the bad ſtate of his majeſty's own health, which, together with his great age, afforded a diſmal proſpect, and gave room to apprehend the misfortunes of a minority, if the king ſhould die while France was ſtill involved in a bloody war, the weight of which ſhe was no longer able to bear.

THESE conſiderations determined the fate of Tournay. The king reſolved to give up that town, which he might ſtill have maintained, even with ſome hopes of ſucceſs.

HIS majeſty, however, judged that he might lay ſome reſtrictions on this ceſſion ſo greatly deſired by England and the Dutch. Theſe were in the firſt place, that peace ſhould be the fruit of his giving up Tournay; that the Dutch ſhould on their part relinquiſh every other demand or pretence of ſtrengthening their barrier; that they ſhould be ſatisfied with enjoying the tariff of 1664, with the exception of the four ſorts of merchandize already ſpecified.

THAT

THAT England and the States General ſhould jointly endeavour to obtain in favour of the elector of Bavaria, not only Sardinia, but likewiſe the ſovereignty of the provinces of Luxemburg and Namur, of which he was already in poſſeſſion, together with thoſe of Limburg and Hainault, or at leaſt that he ſhould keep Luxemburg and Namur.

THAT the pretenſions of the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy, ſhould be no obſtruction to the peace. That thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria and the Empire, in regard to the barrier of the Rhine, ſhould be no longer ſupported by England and Holland.

PRIOR thoroughly acquainted with his majeſty's intentions, ſet out for London in order to inform the queen his miſtreſs, and to deliver a letter to her in the king's own hand-writing, the principal article of which related to the intereſts of the duke of Bavaria.

HAVING executed his commiſſion, he returned to France in the month of December 1712, with the queen's anſwers to the articles, which the king had propoſed as a kind of indemnification for not inſiſting any longer on the reſtitution of Tournay.

IN regard to the firſt article, he ſaid that the queen had omitted nothing on her part to remove the difficulties of the negotiation; that her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had ſpoke to the States

States General with all the firmneſs neceſſary to oblige them immediately to ſign the peace in concert with her majeſty; that ſhe was willing to conclude it even in oppoſition to her allies.

THAT hitherto ſhe had not thought it proper to enter into the intereſts of the elector of Bavaria, and in prejudice to her allies to favour a prince whom ſhe as yet could conſider only as an enemy; but ſince ſhe perceived that the king intereſted himſelf ſo particularly in the elector's behalf, and that it would be doing a pleaſure to his majeſty to contribute to the ſame end, ſhe had ordered the Engliſh plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to eſtabliſh as a condition of peace, that Sardinia ſhould be ceded to the elector of Bavaria, to indemnify him by the acquiſition of a kingdom and of the regal dignity, for the loſs of the Upper Palatinate and the rank of firſt elector, which could not be reſtored to him.

THE queen pretended to comply with this propoſal, ſince the king himſelf had made it, and that the indemnification was the more advantageous, as the Upper Palatinate and the firſt rank in the electoral college, would revert to the elector or to his deſcendants after the deceaſe of the elector Palatine and prince Charles his brother, ſo that he would acquire Sardinia and the regal dignity, without any prejudice to himſelf or to his poſterity.

THAT in the mean time, till he got Sardinia, he ſhould keep thoſe towns in the Netherlands

therlands which were at that time in his hands, but ſhould admit of a Dutch garriſon; for it was not to be imagined that the Dutch would think their barrier ſecure, if the ſtrong places poſſeſſed by the elector were to be garriſoned by any other troops than thoſe belonging to the Republic; and if that prince ſhould miſtruſt the intentions of the States General, the queen offered to engage for them: that this was all ſhe could do in his favour, and out of regard to the king; that hitherto ſhe had only promiſed to leave the French plenipotentiaries at liberty to promote the elector's intereſts; but now the Britiſh miniſters ſhould act in concert with them, and treat his indemnification as an eſſential and neceſſary condition of peace.

At the ſame time the queen of England obſerved, that the elector of Bavaria ſhould aſpire to a further increaſe of dignity and dominions, as the preſent ſituation of the Auſtrian family afforded a wide ſcope to his moſt ſanguine expectations.

Prior was charged with another memorial, which had been preſented to the queen his miſtreſs by the miniſter from the duke of Savoy: It contained further inſtances for having his barrier enlarged; but Prior declared it was no more than a good office, which the queen could not get rid of, but was indifferent about its ſucceſs.

He

HE was ignorant that ſhe had given any orders to her plenipotentiaries, in regard to the viſionary pretenſions of the king of Portugal, and to the groundleſs demands of the elector of Brandenburg, under the pretence of an equivalent for the principality of Orange. He did not believe that the queen had the leaſt intention to favour that elector, with whom ſhe had no great reaſon to be ſatisfied.

THE particular intereſt of England was that of commerce. Prior being acquainted with the terms agreeable to his own country, obſerved that it would be neceſſary to ſettle at leaſt the heads of a treaty of commerce before the concluſion of the peace; that in regard to the particular difficulties, the diſcuſſion of them might be referred to the commiſſaries after ſigning the treaties.

HE was alſo impowered to treat about the limits of North America; and if his majeſty pleaſed, both thoſe articles might be ſettled in a very ſhort time.

THE differences in regard to the fiſhery of Newfoundland, and the iſland of Cape Breton, might be likewiſe determined, either with Prior, or between the French and Engliſh plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, or with the duke of Shrewſbury, whom the queen had appointed her ambaſſador to France, in the place of the duke of Hamilton, unfortunately killed in a duel with lord Mohun.

THE cauſe of this duel was attributed to an implacable hatred between thoſe noblemen, in conſequence of a law-ſuit; but it was the common opinion, that the whigs, and eſpecially the duke of Marlborough, were the ſecret abettors of the quarrel and the duel. The duke of Hamilton fell upon his enemy after giving him a mortal wound. An Iriſh Officer, named Macartney, who was Mohun's ſecond, ſeeing Hamilton down, run him thro' the heart. A few days after Marlborough ſet out for Dover, to take ſhipping for Oſtend.

IT was upon the death of the duke of Hamilton, and while Prior was ſtill in England, that the queen appointed the duke of Shrewſbury her ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of France. This nobleman was thoroughly acquainted with even the minuteſt circumſtances of the negotiation betwixt France and England, from its commencement to the degree of perfection which it had then in proſpect. This could be depended upon, that far from retarding its conſummation, he would forward it as much as lay in his power. His turn of mind and his great experience in buſineſs, gave juſt reaſon to believe that he would meet with ſucceſs. The only defect laid to his charge was being a little too timorous. It could have been wiſhed that he had had a better opinion of himſelf, ſuch as thoſe who knew him well had, and could not help having, of his merit and abilities.

BE-

BEFORE he arrived at Paris, the duke d'Aumont, whom the king had honoured with the character of his ambaſſador, and made a knight of the Holy Ghoſt, ſet out for England.

BOTH theſe miniſters had reaſon to promiſe themſelves a happy iſſue of their embaſſy. The duke of Shrewſbury's chief commiſſion was to ſee the regiſtering of the mutual renunciations of the king of Spain in regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown of France; and of the dukes of Berry and Orleans in regard to that of Spain. Shrewſbury was to be witneſs to the fulfilling of this eſſential condition of the peace.

THERE remained but very little to negotiate in England, after the king had ceaſed to demand the reſtitution of Tournay. So long as his majeſty inſiſted upon that reſtitution, they murmured in France at his firmneſs; and a great many people, wiſe in their own imaginations, looked upon it as a fooliſh obſtinacy, to perſiſt in demanding a town, which they were ſure that France would never recover by treaty. What compariſon, ſaid they, between Tournay and peace; and is it not much better to relinquiſh a town, than to loſe the opportunity of concluding a treaty ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of the kingdom? After he had given up Tournay, thoſe very politicians grew louder in their complaints, ſtiling it weakneſs in the king, to leave the enemy in poſſeſſion of a town ſo neceſſary for the ſecurity of his frontier. Affairs of ſtate would be very ill-

adminiſtered, if the ſovereign was to be guided by the public talk, or to conſider it as the rule of his conduct. He ought frequently to ſtop his ears, if he would avoid the perilous ſhelves of political navigation. He ſhould never loſe ſight of his point, but purſue conſtantly the ſame courſe, without ſuffering himſelf to be lulled to ſleep by warbling ſyrens, or yielding to the complaints of mariners.

Had our wiſe monarch given ear to ſome ſecret advices, which were communicated to him under the pretence of zeal, when lord Bolingbroke came over to France, he would have looked upon that miniſter as a ſpy, who contributed the moſt to the re-eſtabliſhment of the peace of Europe, and who was moſt ſenſibly affected with the kind reception with which he was honoured by his majeſty. He expreſſed his grateful ſenſe of the favour, and at the ſame time he faithfully ſerved the queen his miſtreſs, and his country, during the remainder of the negotiation.

The principal difficulties being removed, and the duke of Shrewſbury having aſſiſted at the regiſtering of the renunciations, the honour of concluding and ſigning the treaties of peace was left to marſhal d'Huxelles, and to Menager, the king's ſole plenipotentiaries: for the abbé Polignac, upon being created cardinal, returned to France in the month of February 1713; his dignity, the declaration of which had been ſuſpended for ſome months, not permitting him to continue

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in the poſt of ſecond plenipotentiary. Before his departure, he was witneſs to the ſatisfaction which the Dutch made to the king's plenipotentiaries, purſuant to his majeſty's demands, for the ridiculous behaviour of Rechteren in regard to Menager. Three of the Dutch deputies dined at marſhal d'Huxelles, where they aſſured the French plenipotentiaries before a numerous company, in the name of the States-General, that Rechteren had received no orders from his maſters in excuſe of his conduct; that the States diſapproved of it, and ſhould be very ſorry his majeſty could believe they had any deſign to be wanting in the reſpect due to him; that Rechteren's commiſſion ſhould ceaſe; and according to the conſtitution of their government, their High Mightineſſes would write to the States of the province of Over-Yſſel, to appoint another plenipotentiary.

AFTER having ſhewn in what manner the negotiation ſet on foot with England paved the way to a general peace, it would be needleſs to continue the narrative of what paſſed at the conferences of Utrecht, till the 11th of April of the ſame year 1713. The treaties were then ſigned between France, England, the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces, the king of Portugal, the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Brandenburg, on the conditions ſettled by the king, as may be ſeen in the printed copies of thoſe treaties. The king of Spain might have concluded a peace with all

thoſe powers at the ſame time. They all conſented to acknowledge him as lawful monarch of Spain and the Indies. But the completion of ſo important a work was ſuſpended till the year following, by the ambition of the princeſs Orſini. She wanted to be a ſovereign; neither England nor Holland were any longer againſt it; and the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, deſirous of pleaſing her, inſiſted on a condition which the king their maſter treated as eſſential.

At length they were obliged to abandon her, the emperor being ſo averſe to it, that there was no hope of his ever conſenting to the leaſt diſmemberment of even the ſmalleſt part of the Netherlands.

The king at length perſuaded his grandſon, to have more regard for the repoſe of his people than for the caprice of a woman; that he might grant her other favours, but that he ought not, in prejudice to his faithful ſubjects, to defer concluding the treaties on her account. They were not ſigned at Utrecht till the year 1714; and Spain had no more enemies left but the emperor and the empire.

If we compare the peace of Utrecht to the preliminaries propoſed by the penſionary Heinſius in 1709, and to the ſtill harder terms which the deputies of the States-General inſiſted upon at the conferences of Gertrudenberg in 1710; if we have not quite forgot the diſtreſſed ſituation of the kingdom in the years 1708, 1709,

and

and 1710; and if we recall to mind the fatal battles of Hochſtet in 1704, of Ramilies and of Turin in 1706, the action of Oudenarde in 1708, that of Malplaquet in 1709, the loſs of ſo many battles followed by that of ſuch a number of ſtrong towns: theſe unlucky æra's will be ample proof of the eaſy rate, at which this peace was purchaſed by France, compared to the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained, and to the ſtate of the kingdom; nay perhaps will be a proof of the unexpected advantages which ſhe derived from the obſtinacy of her enemies in impoſing unjuſt conditions, which it was impoſſible for her to execute. The king indeed yielded up conſiderable towns, extremely well fortified; as Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, and their dependancies; but two of thoſe towns were no longer in his power, having been taken by the enemy; and the Dutch, at the time of their proſperity, pretended to obtain them, at the concluding of the peace, to ſerve for their barrier; and not ſatisfied with that, they inſiſted upon more ſtrong towns in the Netherlands, as well as in Spain, by way of pledge and ſecurity, as they called it, of the king's performing his word; moreover, they required that he ſhould by himſelf, and at his own expence, wage war againſt the king his grandſon, and oblige him to renounce the Spaniſh monarchy and the Indies in the ſpace of two months; ſtill keeping ulterior demands in reſerve, after all theſe conditions were fulfilled.

Every

Every one of the allies, after the example of the Dutch, inſiſted on ſome diſmemberment of France, under the pretence of a barrier.

By the peace of Utrecht the king recovered Liſle and its dependancies, with Aires, Bethune, and St. Venant. We could have wiſhed it had not coſt the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk; but without this melancholy condition it was impoſſible to ſeparate England from her allies; and the peace could not be concluded, unleſs his majeſty found out ſome means to break the connections betwixt that crown and ſuch a multitude of enemies in league againſt France.

The duke of Savoy, in conſideration of the preſſing inſtances of the queen of Great-Britain, who ſtrongly eſpouſed his intereſts, was ſuffered to keep the forts of Exilles and Feneſtrelles, which he had made himſelf maſter of, with the valley of Pragelas.

But the Spaniſh monarchy, that noble prize for which a bloody war had been carried on with great obſtinacy the ſpace of twelve years, was preſerved in the royal family of France; and the right of the deſcendants of St. Lewis was acknowledged by ſo many powers, who had conſpired to compel king Philip to deſcend from the throne on which God had placed him.

The emperor prolonged the war till the year 1714; but finding himſelf unable to carry it on alone, he ſigned, and ſoon after the empire agreed to, the conditions of peace which the king was

pleaſed

pleaſed to dictate, more conformable to his moderation than to the proſperous ſituation of his affairs.

"WE praiſe antiquity," ſays an antient author, "we enquire into remote facts, and into all "their circumſtances, while we ſeem to have but "little curioſity of knowing the tranſactions of "our own times."

LET thoſe, whom the preſent memoirs ſhall inform of theſe tranſactions, ſay, with the legiſlator of God's people, "And know you this "day, for I ſpeak not with your children which "have not known and which have not ſeen, the "chaſtiſement of the Lord your God, his mira-"cles and his acts, his greatneſs, his mighty "hand, and his ſtretched-out arm."

FINIS.

ERRATA VOL. II.

P. 53. l. 7. after *of* read *falſifies*.—p. 76. l. 12. before *authority* r. *bis*.—p. 83. l. 19. for *equitable* r. *inevitable*.—p. 95. l. 21. dele *to be*.—p. 100. l. 5. dele *which*.—ibid. l. 3. for *November* r. *December*, and l. 6 from the bottom, make the ſame correction.—p. 114. l. 3 from the bottom, for *at* r. *in*.—p. 132. l. 6 from the bottom, for *him* r. *them*.—p. 157. l. 18. before *not* r. *are*.—p. 170. l. 2 from the bottom, dele *not*.—p. 171. l. 2 from the bottom, dele *only*.—p. 192. l. 6 from the bottom, dele *the*.—p. 201. l. 19. dele *obedient*.

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